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History of the Names of Men, Nations, and Places.

" Notre nom propre c'est nous mêmes."

" Nomina si nescis periit cognitio rerum."

" Imago animi, vultûs, vitæ, nomen est."

HISTORY

OF THE

NAMES OF MEN, NATIONS, AND PLACES.

IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH

THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

From the French of 'Eusebius Salverte.'

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TRANSLATED BY THE

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THOUGH well aware that Philologists and Writers on the Names of Men do not entirely agree with Salverte in certain small points of detail, I have thought it better, in my translation, to keep faithfully to the text, without either alteration or abridgment, and with but little comment. The only difference I have ventured to make in the form of the work, consists in the Marginal Notes, which have been added to shew the course and progress of the Author's argument, and to facilitate reference for the reader. The Appendices alluded to in the First Volume will be found at the conclusion of the Second.

THE TRANSLATOR.

HASLINGDEN, *November* 1861.

PREFACE.

NOTHING is without importance in man, when we view him as a social being; habits, opinions, aspirations, and faults, all influence his own welfare and that of his fellow-men. If my readers do not become convinced of this, on me let the blame be laid, not on the subject of my essay.

When the history of the Names of men, nations, and places, is studied in connection with one particular country only, it must naturally be of limited interest; but if, avoiding the individual, we make it of general application, many and various are the lessons we may learn.

The present essay will form part only of a larger work, in which it is my intention to treat of Civilization, from the earliest historic periods to the conclusion of the eighteenth century. I must, therefore, take this opportunity of mentioning a circumstance

which lies at the foundation of my work, viz., that there are two kinds of civilization, which differ from each other essentially, the one is stationary, the other progressive. The former is common to many of the more ancient nations, and still exists in Tibet and in China; the latter is that which for many centuries has been progressing in an onward course throughout Europe, which has gained great victories in North America, and which in South America has opened the way for knowledge and prosperity.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

Section		Page
1.	The Proper Name becomes identified with the Individual Person, Nation, or Place	1
2.	Origin of Proper Names; its Extent and Development	4
3.	All Proper Names, at first, have a Meaning	6
4.	Superstitions, Errors, and Beliefs, arising from the Meanings of Proper Names—Acrostics—Anagrams	8
5.	Errors have crept into modern science through the meanings of Ancient Proper Names—Myths have originated from the same source	13
6.	Derivations of Names—Inferences which may be deduced from them, even when derived from two different languages	21
7.	Use of the Study of Names—First, in the Study of History and its kindred sciences: Geography adduced as an instance	31
8.	Second, in Literature—Cases in which National Prejudices admit or reject allusions in Proper Names; and, consequently, to Playing upon Names	33
9.	Third, in the Study of the Progress of Civilization	45
10.	Various Effects which Result from Identifying the Name with the Individual	50
11.	Principal Sources from which Names have been Derived	57
12.	Religious Ceremonies practised at the giving of Names	64
13.	On Surnames, more especially those given by common consent	66
14.	Names and Surnames of the Hebrews	76
15.	Of the Arabs	80

Section		Page
16.	Names of Hebrew and Arab Women	82
17.	Turkish and Persian Names	86
18.	Abyssinians—Copts—No Family Names in Egypt, India, or Carthage	89
19.	Celts and Caledonians	91
20.	Grecian Names—Confusion arises in Grecian History from similarity in Individual Names—The Greeks, like the Scandinavians, approximate to the Introduction of Family Names, but do not Reach it	95
21.	Surnames among the Chinese, Japanese, Laplanders	104
22.	Observations on the choice of Chinese Names	111
23.	Roman Names—The Prænomen—The Romans never had more than one	117
24.	The Prænomen not sufficient—Surnames necessary	123
25.	Surnames (cognomina) introduced into the Public Records—Why some Surnames become Hereditary—These Surnames are never exclusively limited to one Family	127
26.	Agnomen—Surname taken by any Man who had been admitted into a New Family by adoption	138
27.	Names of Women among the Romans—Their Surnames—Names of Men derived from them	139
28.	The Romans borrowed the form of their Names, and their Names themselves, from the Inhabitants of ancient Italy, and particularly from the Etruscans	144
29.	Names of Families in Italy and Rome—Their Origin	146
30.	How the System of Roman Nomenclature became first corrupted and then obsolete	155
31.	Christian or Baptismal Names in Europe take the place of Individual Names	161
32.	Why it soon became necessary to add Surnames to Christian Names	170
33.	Summary of Events which led to the Re-introduction of Family Names in Europe	176
34.	First, Hereditary Dignities and Estates	179
35.	Second, The Crusades—Emblems and Armorial Bearings—Canting Arms	182
36.	Third, Instances adduced from the Imperial Families of Constantinople	186

SECTION PAGE

37. Fourth, The Enfranchisement of Lands manifesting its Results more slowly in Germany than in France . 191
38. For the same reason, Family Names increased rapidly in England—Were introduced into Poland by the change from an oligarchy to an aristocracy . . . 194
39. Family Names adopted by the Nobility in the Crimea and in Russia 199
40. Fifth, Family Names introduced into Spain, by the division of parties, which leads the Members of one Family to hold together for the common interest, under one Collective Name 206
41. The same reason brings about the Restoration of Family Names in Italy—The Collective Names themselves shew their derivation 208
42. Sixth, Commercial Prosperity, and Extended Commercial Relations with other Countries, sometimes change, in Italy, the father's name in the genitive case, and sometimes the Surname itself, into a Family Name—The definite article is added to these new Names, and, as a matter of course, to all thenceforth . . . 217
43. Hereditary Names only began to obtain, in Venice, about the Tenth Century—Increased, and became firmly established about the Twelfth and Thirteenth . . 222
44. Hereditary Names adopted by the Middle Classes; First, in Italy; Second, in France; penetrating into even the remoter inland country districts . . . 231
45. They become firmly established in England, Germany, etc. 237
46. They spread rapidly in Poland, in Russia, in Greece, in America—Acknowledged usefulness of their adoption the seventh reason for their universal prevalence . 242
47. Family Names become common to the two Sexes . 247
48. The Wife gives up her own Family Name and adopts that of her Husband 250
49. The Wife's Family Name should always be joined to that of her Husband 256
50. On the changing of Names—It presupposes a change of condition 258

Section		Page
51.	A change of Name marks Elevation in Rank, or Accession to Dignity	263
52.	Some changes in Names are determined by the Religion professed, or the Superstition embraced	266
53.	Change of Names in Italy, resulting, first, from an admiration (among men of letters) of the writers of antiquity; Second, from the common practice of distinguishing a Man by the Name of his Country	269
54.	Importance of these changes in the progress of society	274
55.	Alteration of Foreign Names, through faulty pronunciation, or mistakes in orthography	278
56.	Names purposely altered, in order to assimilate them to other Names in common use in other countries	287
57.	Translated Names frequently altered by faulty translation	292
58.	Names of Illustrious People adopted by their Successors	301
59.	Names of Princes perpetuated in their respective Dynasties, and become true Hereditary Titles	309
60.	Confusion of Titles and Proper Names	313
61.	Titles, viewed as rewards of Merit, lose their value when they become Hereditary, or when they are multiplied	327
62.	Two things in Europe account for the multiplication of Titles; the increase and concentration of power in the Sovereign; and the practice of recognizing Titles conferred by Foreign Princes	338
63.	Titles may vary in value, even among the Heads of States —Dangers of such Variation—It increases, if Dependent Chiefs are called Kings	345
64.	Distinguishing Titles of Sovereigns suggested by Ambition —National Customs — Humility — Religion — Divine Titles usurped by Sovereigns	354
65.	Names of Divinities borne by Princes and Private Individuals	364

SALVERTE'S HISTORY

OF THE

NAMES OF MEN, NATIONS, AND PLACES.

SECTION I.

THE PROPER NAME BECOMES IDENTIFIED WITH THE INDIVIDUAL PERSON, NATION OR PLACE.

Name identified with the individual.

OUR proper name is our individuality; in our own thoughts, and in the thoughts of those who know us, they cannot be separated. Our names are uttered, and at once, whether in connection with blame or praise, with threat or entreaty, with hatred or love, we ourselves are affected by the ideas and feelings expressed. A few trifling words, in no way meant to apply to the man they describe, suffice to awaken the recollection of that man, his physical peculiarities, his moral character, and the most remarkable acts and events of his life; a few syllables will cause the tear to start afresh from a mother's eye, after years of consolation and resignation to her loss; they will summon the tell-tale blush to the maiden's cheek, and she immediately thinks her secret is discovered; they will make a lover's heart beat more rapidly; re-kindle the angry glance in an enemy's eye; and in a friend separated from his friend, will renew all his past regrets and his fondest hopes.

With the place.

No less rapidly do our thoughts connect a name with the idea of the thing to which it belongs, be it land of birth, town, country, river, valley or hill. Dislike, desire, recollection of pain or pleasure, admiration, jealousy, kind feelings, national hatreds and love of country, one and all may be evoked by a single word, because that word represents to us the very object which has created those emotions within us. It is this active principle which constitutes the difference between the proper name and the common noun. The latter is necessarily of wider import, only imparts to us some vague notion, and almost conveys an erroneous meaning if we attempt to define it too positively and particularly. When we hear the word "tree," for instance, do we at once attach to that word the metaphysical idea of all those qualities which together constitute a tree in the abstract? Certainly not. The natural result of which will be, that if we attach any definite idea to the word, it will be the remembrance of some one tree, to which most likely the remainder of the sentence will not apply, as it was intended to do, to the tree mentioned in the proposition of which it is the subject. A philosopher who is less appreciated in our day than he ought to be, Diderot, has made this remark—viz., that nouns substantive, adjectives, verbs, and, in point of fact, all kinds of words, are but the current coin of conversation and writing ever exchanged by agreement at a conventional value, without our being at the trouble to test their value or their real intrinsic worth.

And yet we are constantly boasting of that wonderful discovery, the mechanism of abstraction, by which we can divest every object of its characteristic peculiarities, and class a number of objects under one head, rising by degrees to still

more comprehensive genera, and so turning an originally individual name into the distinctive appellation of an almost unlimited order of beings. And we are right in boasting thus; but why? Because the mind of man is limited, his memory may fail, his attention may flag; because, in a word, our minds are infinitely small, and the universe is infinitely great. Endeavour to realize in thought all things that exist, all their qualities, all the variations to which they are subject, all those minute shades of difference which affect them, then imagine a language which should distinguish each existence by its own proper name and should carry out the same distinguishing principle in its adjectives and other parts of speech, how superior would such a language be (if our minds can conceive of its possibility), to all our present languages with their multitudes of abstract ideas. Instead of propositions rendered equivocal, incomplete, and fallacious, by the omission of a proper word to determine the true characteristics of an object which is usually described by some general term, we should have a language such as the one we have imagined, expressing itself in such a way that every term would be in accordance with the true fact, the slightest error be at once detected as an absurdity, and a fallacy become impossible. Such, in that mythology which multiplied its deities at will, by endowing them with all the noblest qualities of man, must the language of the heavenly intelligences have been; such would a language be amongst ourselves if composed entirely of proper names.

The perfection of a name consists in its thoroughly individual applicability.

SECTION II.

ORIGIN OF PROPER NAMES—ITS EXTENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

Names, at first, no proof of a civilized condition.

THOUGH its importance be felt in all phases of our social life, the origin of proper-names does not essentially belong to a civilized condition. My own idea is, that it is intimately connected with the gift of speech. A man must call his children by a distinctive appellation, either when he speaks to them or when he speaks of them in their absence, and when a gesture and an inflection of the voice are not sufficient to indicate his meaning. The distinctive title which he uses can only be a name exclusively applicable to the individual meant; on the other hand, the father will recognise the name given to him by his children. Again, the domestic animal, man's intelligent companion in his field-sports, and the watchful guardian of his dwelling; the brook that runs beneath his home; the tree that shelters or the forest that conceals it; the hill or the vale near which it lies, will soon be named by those who wish to distinguish them from similar objects around. If other men come to live near the first family, they will receive a name and give one in return. And when man at last lifts up his eyes to heaven in search of some higher power than his own, to which he may look up with awe as to the source of guidance and help, that power will be designated by some particular name, and will become an object of his constant reverence, and the great motive principle of his hopes and his fears.

However simple these names may be at first, so simple that they express nothing beyond the degree of relationship between father and mother and children, and the order of

their birth in the case of the last; be they mere substantives used to point out more specially the dwelling and all that surrounds it, as the hut, the tree, or the brook—or even supposing that in the common intercourse which may exist between one family and its neighbour the only distinctive terms employed are *we* and *they*, and further, that sun, fire, destruction, or thunder, designate the beneficent or angry Deity—still the system of proper names already exists in embryo, and is ready to be further developed, even to the highest degree of importance and intricacy, in proportion as the social principle itself becomes more extended and more complicated in its constitution. The embryo state of nomenclature.

Add new members to the family; collect several families together and form them into one tribe; place a number of tribes holding friendly relations with one another in a less limited tract of land; then will the spot occupied by each tribe, every village or cluster of inhabitants belonging to the same tribe, every hill and thicket and brook—in a word, the land and the gathering of men upon it assume proper names, just as the tribes had already done before, and the families and the individuals that constituted them.

From this outline of the first elements of social life, let us remove, in thought, for a moment, and place ourselves in the heart of civilized existence. The names of lands and dwellings have changed into the designations of powerful states and magnificent cities; names which will be familiar for centuries after the grass has grown over and hidden even the ruins of their palaces and their fortresses, and obliterated the very traces of their existence, and after political or naturally induced revolutions shall have depopulated, divided, and totally dismembered the provinces of mighty empires. Here the names

of men distinguish the individual members of a great social body, magistrates, princes, chiefs of the great civil and political whole; and among these names, all of them less or more important at present, there are some which hereafter shall be handed down to history as a rich inheritance, an object of envy to the ambitious, and a pattern of conduct to the wise.

SECTION III.

ALL PROPER NAMES HAVE AT FIRST A MEANING.

Fixed principles evident in the system of choosing proper names.

ALL proper names had originally a peculiar and appropriate meaning. Some persons might feel disposed to argue that there is nothing in the ordinary course of things to prevent the giving of names from sheer whim and without any meaning; but it is quite as difficult to imagine the absence of motive and of fixed guiding principles in the choice of a name as it is in any other matter. It would be contrary to man's nature to denote the object of his thoughts by sounds which produced no impression upon his memory, no representative idea in his mind. If the principle asserted, then, hold good in the matter of common nouns, much more must it be true with regard to the proper name, whose characteristic is, as we have said, that it places under our very eyes, as it were, the individual object to which it is applied.

That some definite idea should belong to the name when uttered, is so much needed by men in general that the natives of North America are in the habit of giving a name selected from their own language to any stranger deemed worthy of their especial notice. To them his own name does not sufficiently describe him, because it probably conveys no idea

connected with his physical appearance. An anecdote is related of the Imaum of Muscat who when about to appoint a private physician asked his name. Vincenzo, was the reply. Not understanding it, the prince requested that its meaning should be explained in Arabic. The Italian gave the meaning, as Mansour, or Victorious, and the prince, delighted with the happy omen afforded by the name, ever after called him "Sheik Mansour." Instances of significant names.

If we glance next at the records of travellers in distant countries, we shall find that whether they be private individuals or men engaged in scientific inquiry, they never give a name to a people, a country, an island, or an unknown rock, without some definite reason. Some allusion is made in it to physical conformation, to dress, to customs, to external peculiarities, or to certain circumstances which made the discovery a remarkable one. This natural habit has rarely been deviated from except when a desire has been felt to erect some geographical monument on distant shores, in honour of some denizen of the heavens; or to record, in a lasting form, some cotemporary event, or the name of some cotemporary character of distinction; or, lastly, to perpetuate the memory of a benefactor of his kind, and to testify of a nation's gratitude to a fellow-countryman of great pre-eminence. The long catalogue of proper names, with a meaning, which may yet be found among our older nations, in spite of the mixture and corruption of races; and the longer catalogue disclosed by etymological inquiry, fully bear out my remarks. Schlegel, a learned philosopher, has traced descriptive epithets in almost all Hindoo names. So marked was the existence of these meanings among the Hebrews, that, as we shall see hereafter, their literature is strangely tinged by

their influence. The older names among the Arabs, and those since introduced into general use, are highly significative; the fact is acknowledged in the case of Grecian names, and the remark is equally true of all names derived from Teutonic origin. The most distant nations in our own more immediate circle of civilization exhibits no difference in this respect. Most of the natives of North America are named after some animal; during their lifetime they receive another title when they have earned it by some deed of daring, which it explains, and of which it is the token. The name of a most powerful chief in one of the Marquesas Islands, contains an allusion to the shape of a canoe, in the management of which he excelled.* Thunder is the name of the King of the Chenooks, a warlike tribe who live on the left bank of the river Columbia. The Kamtchadales, Koriakes, and Kuriles, have all of them significant names. A young Kurile maiden was called Kazouktch, or the mourner, no doubt because she had seen the day when her country had fallen beneath the yoke of an invading stranger, a good cause, in those regions, for her bitterest lamentations.

SECTION IV.

SUPERSTITIONS—ERRORS AND BELIEFS ARISING FROM THE MEANINGS OF PROPER NAMES—ACROSTICS—ANAGRAMS.

Importance of right choice of proper names.

So long as names remain significant, the importance attached to their due selection is neither absurd nor childish; it is but natural that so far as we have the power of doing it, we should avoid the unfavourable impression which is sure to

* Keatta nooe. Keatta, the outrigger of a canoe. Nooe, great.

redound upon the bearer of an unfortunate name; whereas a name of happy presage tends to inspire confidence and trust, both because we imagine that it has originated in the qualities it expresses, and more especially because, in our minds, we involuntarily and at once establish a species of identity between the name and the person or thing named.

Man, however, who can seldom be restrained within proper limits, soon began to exaggerate the importance attached to the signification of names. Both Greeks and Romans augured well or ill from them; the most cultivated intellects of the day countenanced the general tendency, some took advantage of it for their own benefit, but the greater number suffered themselves to be first fascinated and then carried away by the tide, like the rest.

Superstitions.

Rational principles advance but slowly. Le Vayer alludes facetiously, in one of his treatises, to the miraculous power of some of the saints, erroneously attributed to them by the vulgar mind in consequence of their names, even though these names had been grossly corrupted. Thus, the disease to be cured, or the miracle to be worked, and the saint's name, had some wonderful analogy between them. Some prayed to St. Genou* for relief from the gout; others to St. Marcou† for diseases in the neck; St. Cloud‡ was supposed to cure

* Genou, which is here intended to mean "knee," is probably a corruption of St. Gençoux, the patron saint of Jouvence, a small town in the department of Saône et Loire, celebrated for its medicinal springs and well.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

† St. Marcou is a corruption from St. Marceau or Marcel, a bishop of Paris in the fifth century, subsequently raised to the papal chair and canonized. He is supposed to have delivered his countrymen from the ravages of a serpent of monstrous dimensions.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

‡ St. Cloud is also an instance of great corruption of names, and greater absurdity of superstition. The genuine name is St. Clodoald,

boils, St. Mammart* affections of the breast, and St. Etanches† cured discharges of blood.

Le Vayer wrote in the seventeenth century; and at that period the fear of invoking the evil principle, or devil, by the utterance of his name was not limited to the ignorant and vulgar mind alone. This fear extended to the name of all plagues; so that in the masterpiece of our best fable-writer we find, after the conclusion of the third line—

"The plague (since by its name I fain must call it);"

where the parenthesis, which is so little understood, and seems to have no point in it now, is but the natural result of that fear which led men to avoid even the mention of words of unlucky omen.

Acrostics. So also with the letters that made up the proper name; they, too, had their share of mystic influence attributed to them. When taken singly and in their natural order, they gave rise to what we term the acrostic, the chief merit of

who was grandson of Clovis the First, founder of the French monarchy. In 538, Clodoald took refuge, during some persecution, in the hamlet of Nogent, which he afterwards called by his own name, and then presented to the church. This is now the famous St. Cloud near Paris. The word "clou" means boil.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

* St. Mammart is a corruption from Mamert, the name of a bishop of Vienna in the fifth century, the first institutor of the Rogation Fast. (See Hook's Ch. Dict., art. Rogation Days.) The name, therefore, has nothing to do with mammal or breast affections.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

† The word Etanches (anglice, stanches) is not so easily derived; probably some corruption and confusion of Etienne and Eustache.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

A common saying in country districts was,—"You must not sow your corn on St. Leger's day" (léger, light), "it would only produce *light* and empty ears. Leger here, as applied to the saint, is properly the Latin Leodegarius, bishop of Autun in the seventh century, and has nothing to do with the adjective, léger.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

which consists in the importance of the name it traces. With us acrostics have become a pastime; formerly they had a religious use. That celebrated oracle which was attributed to the Erythræan* Sibyl, through some pious fraud, was written in acrostic verses, and recalled the names of the Messiah† and the instrument of His torture.

Again, the initials of these names form the Greek word ἰχθύς, signifying *fish;* this was sufficient to justify the introduction of the form of a fish as an emblematic ornament on many of the Christian tombs. The four letters A. D. A. M. are the initials of the four Greek words which denote the cardinal points, ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία, and these were understood to prove that God created Adam out of dust which had been collected from the rising and from the setting of the sun, from the north and from the south.

The first letter of the name.

The first letter in the name, taken by itself, was not without its own importance. Alexis, who had married the daughter of Manuel Comnenus, had incurred the emperor's displeasure, and become suspected of treason; his conduct had been blameless, but his name began with the first letter of the alphabet, a sure sign that he might one day aspire to the first place in the empire.‡

Transpositions.

If it so happened that a man's name did not correspond with his character or his position in any of the ways I have just mentioned, a further search was made into the various

* Erythræan. This is Niebuhr's opinion—viz., "that these oracles came from Ionia;" but they were more probably derived from Cumæ in Campania. The Christian writers frequently appeal to the Sibylline verses as containing prophecies of the Messiah, but these in most cases are clearly forgeries. See Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, art. Sibyllini libri, p. 882. Ed. 1842.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

† Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ, Σταυρός.

‡ Nicetas, Annal. Man. Comnen., lib. iv., cap. vi.

combinations which could be effected by all the possible variations in the arrangement of the component letters, in the hope that the peculiarity of character desired might still be indicated; hence came what we term anagrams. A young Persian whose sole fortune consisted of an ardent love of study, was named "Nauari, or the man that possesses nothing," on account of his extreme poverty. His master, however, detected in this youth a germ of superior talents, and by the transposition of a letter named him "Anuari, the brilliant, the illustrious." The omen was not without its results; for one of the most distinguished of the Persian poets has immortalized himself under that name: such is one among many instances of that mystic property in names so generally believed in by the people of the East. Among the Hebrews anagrams formed a part of the cabalistic science, and afforded a clue to the discovery of those mysterious oracles which it was imagined the Almighty in his wisdom had connected with the giving of proper names.

Anagrams.

Among the Greeks of Alexandria, anagrams seem to have been chiefly prompted by a desire to flatter, and sometimes no doubt by a malicious wish to harm. Over and above these two motives, the chimerical hope of penetrating into the secrets of futurity has given an impulse to the subject even in more modern times. There are numerous anecdotes extant which tell us of men (down to the seventeenth century, and in all other respects men of the soundest sense), who yet believed that they had discovered in an anagram the special vocation in life which the positive will of the Deity had intended for them. Can we feel surprised, then, when 2000 years before, Plato, a writer whose persuasive eloquence and reasoning have led men not so much to practical truth as to vain

illusory speculation, could tell us that there exists an intimate and necessary connection, and one which affects the life's whole course, between the meaning of a proper name and the character and destiny of the man who bears it.

The extravagances of the human mind could not stop here. Theurgy attached a fearful influence to names. Demons, invoked in the name of some living individual, were compelled to appear, and this superstitious belief obtained for several centuries, fear probably preventing many from making that trial which would so easily have given experimental contradiction to the whole fabrication. "Alter not a foreign name," is one of the Chaldean oracles commented on by Psellus. In all nations, says the commentator, there are names given by inspiration of the Deity, whose sacred and incredible influence is wholly lost if we dare to translate them. Origen gives utterance to the same precept "Nomina barbara non mutaveris." Iamblichus tells us that, in accordance with this precept, the priests in their religious ceremonies often use names they do not understand, adding somewhat quaintly, "because these names have in all probability some meaning among the gods."

SECTION V.

ERRORS HAVE CREPT INTO MODERN SCIENCE THROUGH THE MEANING OF ANCIENT PROPER NAMES—MYTHS HAVE ORIGINATED FROM THE SAME SOURCE.

In these days when we think of a mystic virtue inherent in names, of the lucky omens annexed to their signification, and of the oracular messages supposed to issue from a combination or arbitrary transposition of the signs which compose them, we

The subject of myths discussed.

are apt to smile incredulously. And yet all the erroneous notions to which the meaning of proper names has given birth, have by no means disappeared. We are not without knowing what confusion has been caused not only in philology, but also in certain periods of history, by the way in which the meaning of names has been made to fit in with allegorical explanations, and how more or less forced interpretations of ancient names has helped to prop up a series of paradoxes. Rabaut St. Etienne, a writer who is justly held in the highest estimation, both for his learning and still more for his many virtues and courageous death, used to see nothing beyond a geographical nomenclature in the ancient history of Greece; after carefully investigating the meaning of the names of men and places in Greece, he came to the conclusion, that from the period of the siege of Troy upwards, we may ignore all the accounts given us of the heroes of that famous country, and look upon most of them as identical with its mountains and rivers, its harbours, and its hills and famous springs. Still, whatever may have been the language from which the names he quotes were derived, must not the people who spoke that language, it may be asked, have imported into Greeee the national traditions of their own ancient history, together with their dialects and their weapons? Are we driven to a belief that they forgot their language suddenly, and adopted one founded solely on the names of the places in which they were new settlers, and the origin and inappropriate nomenclature of which (to them at least inappropriate) became more and more apparent every step they advanced? Is it not far more likely that their mythology had retained many of its traditions, and that these had their proportionate influence on the choice of the names which they gave to the physical objects around them.

Rabaut St. Etienne maintains that the mountains, which were the spots first inhabited after the deluge, were metaphorically named "the fathers of the nations." Then, when he wishes to identify Mount Hæmus with Hæmon, the son of Pelasgus, he says, "he owes his birth to Deucalion, for like the rest of the mountains, he was a refuge for mortals after the deluge." But according to the principle laid down, if Hæmon were only a mountain, it should have been called the father, not the son of Deucalion, who in the mythology of Greece, represents the father of those of the human race who survived the deluge. Instead of having recourse, then, to contradictory theories, we had better take it for granted that the mountains and rivers may have received their names either from ancient heroes whose names still existed in the traditions of the country, or from the warrior chiefs and their families, who were gradually settling at their feet, and on their banks.

The commonly experienced desire to connect the remembrance of an ancient sacred tradition with some monument in nature, must have had some influence upon the choice of names of places. The giants who are said to have been destroyed by the thunderbolts of Jupiter, have most of them the same names as the celebrated mountains of Greece. But to draw a general conclusion from this, that the war between the giants and the gods is only an allegory which represents the physical aspect of those mountains whose peaks seem to reach the sky, and, as it were, defy it, would be to forget that the same myth is found in many other nations older than Greece, and that consequently it cannot be a local tradition peculiar to that country.

Moreover, we cannot assert with any confidence what was

the original meaning of these names, or to what extent they may have been altered, either from a wish to connect them with some sacred legend, or historic tradition, or again from mere lapse of time. How, then, can we say that they must originally have belonged to physical objects, and not to real characters?

According to Rabaut St. Etienne, Euryanassa, the mother of Niobe, is a mountain that "commands the prospect far and wide." Euryanassa, "the wide ruling;" surely this name belongs less to a mountain than to a queen—the smallness of the kingdom may tinge the name with absurdity—but it does not make it improbable; the chief of a negro or savage tribe often assumes more highly sounding titles than any monarch of Europe; in like manner, the king of nations, and the king of the earth,* fought side by side in the Pentapolis, against Chedorlaomer, and were afterwards defeated by Abraham at the head of his 300 herdsmen.

We might instance names without number which apply with equal propriety to men, to rocks, to rivers, and to countries. Often a man adopted the name of a place, often he gave his own to it; often a people would adopt their chief's name or give theirs to him, and thus the national name became thenceforth the distinctive appellation of any land they might subsequently settle in. These are established facts, common to all ages and all countries, and in the hands of the author of "Letters on the Earlier History of Greece," simply serve to break the thread which he pretended to use as a guide through the labyrinth of those purely local allegories, to which he would reduce a most interesting period of history and mythology. It is in vain that he warns us

* Genesis xiv. 1, 2.

against admitting such fabulous accounts. We do not believe that a woman was ever metamorphosed into a tree or into a bird; but may not a woman have received the name of that bird or of that tree? Similar cases are of such frequent occurrence, that it is almost superfluous to prove the affirmative. The name has probably given rise to the idea of the metamorphosis, but this by no means proves the non-existence of the characters mentioned.

This mistaken view of the subject is not peculiar to Greece. In all ages, and in all places, a desire to flatter on the one hand, or to depreciate on the other, a love of the marvellous, and a tendency to superstition, have led to the invention of countless fables, this invention being grounded upon either an accurate or an overstrained interpretation of proper names. We might assign such an origin as this to certain fictions of our older writers of romance, which have been rescued from oblivion by the poet of Ferrara; we need only remind our readers of the names of Rolando and Guido the Furious, whose names bore rich promise of brilliant exploits in the lists of love and of war. Cyrus was suckled by a she-dog, Romulus by a she-wolf. Now, such stories as these, founded as they are on the name of the one and on the surname of the other, suggest in our minds no doubt of the existence of the two kings; they only serve to shew us in what sense we may give credit to the story that the Persian Achœmenes was brought up by an eagle. Again, the legend which tells us that St. René rose from the grave seven years after his death, is clearly founded upon the name René (renatus, born again), which, according to a pious notion adopted by many of the faithful, expressed that the man was born again, that he had risen again as it were to a new life, on

the day when he embraced Christianity. Does it follow from this that the existence of St. René is a myth? Shall we further include the third king of France in this category, because his mother, after bathing in the sea, conceived a child whose father was said to be a sea-calf; whereas, Mézeray tells us that this ridiculous tradition arose from the wrong translation of the Therovingian name, Mer-weich—sea-calf.

The name of Guelph or Welf, was too notorious in its connection with the great political dissensions of Italy, to escape being mixed up with a number of fabulous accounts. The meaning of the name was a tempting one, it could be translated by the word "*dog*." Isambert, we are told, Count of Altorf, was the father of the first Guelph; Irmentrude, his wife, gave birth to twelve children at one time; she determined that eleven should be drowned; the midwife entrusted with the execution of the order met Isambert on the way, and to his inquiry where she was going, she replied, "to drown some ugly whelps" (deformes catulos). The author of the Pecorone has further improved upon this legend, and made a she-dog the first heroine and cause of the Guelph and Ghibeline quarrels.

One of the Massalian chiefs, named Wolf (λύκος), had assumed the christian name of Peter (Πέτρος), and his followers were named Lycopetrians. The story goes on to say, that this heretic was stoned by the orthodox believers, and that his disciples, to whom he had promised that he would rise again in three days, and who had remained on the spot of his martyrdom during the whole of that time, at last saw a wolf emerge from the heap of stones which covered his mangled body. Let us hope for the sake of our common humanity, that his sufferings were not more real than the rest of his history.

A similar play upon words gave rise to the circulation of no less gross a falsehood in Constantinople. Athanasius the monk, who had been raised to the patriarchal throne by Andronicus Palæologus, was famous for his power of working miracles. It was confidently asserted, on the testimony of credible witnesses, that one day having gone out to gather herbs, he ordered a wolf to take them home to the monastery, and that the creature at once obeyed his command. It was afterwards discovered that the messenger's name was Lycos or wolf, and that he had spread the tale himself.

When names failed, lovers of the marvellous had recourse to anagrams. The following is an instance, which, on account of its date, is worth noticing:—In the Latinized name of the Jesuit Garnet (Pater Henricus Garnetius), one of his fraternity had found "pingere cruentus aristâ," *i.e.*, "thou shalt be painted gory on an ear of corn." Garnet, who was implicated in the powder plot, was hanged in London in 1606. Father Jouvency relates that his features were found after his death represented on an ear of corn that had been stained with his blood: no doubt the touch of such an ear worked many miracles.

Because events recorded are fabulous, characters are not necessarily mythical.

We have now given numerous instances; we might, without any difficulty, have doubled their number; but, in our opinion, those we *have* given are fully sufficient to refute the principle laid down by Rabaut St. Etienne—viz., that a fabulous event at once places the characters connected with it in the cloud-land of fable and of allegory. We wished also to caution modern critics, who, while they avoid the credulity of the ancients, are in great danger of falling into the opposite extreme, and of rejecting truth altogether when slightly tinged by error, because they are too indolent to be at the trouble of separating the dross from the pure metal.

The very arguments he brought forward to prove the substitution of allegory for history, have furnished us with the means of refuting our opponents. If we take names as they are now commonly borne, and if we follow the method adopted by the writer whose reasoning we have been criticizing, events transacted under our very eyes might with some plausibility be pronounced to be mere allegories.

The argument not universally applicable; there may be exceptions.

Though we have shewn how easy it is to succeed in carrying out facetious interpretations of this kind, it must not be inferred that all allegorical explanations which have their basis on the meaning of proper names are therefore to be rejected. This would lead us into a contradiction of acknowledged facts. On both sides, extremes end in error. Situated as I am—*i.e.*, in danger, on the one hand, of admitting any mythical character into legitimate history, and, on the other, of rejecting in some mythical tradition a true historic character, concerning whose existence a doubt has been insinuated through some mythological story—it will be my endeavour not to overlook the more or less likely opinions which may be deduced from the meaning of a name, or the possible certainty that that name has belonged to a place, a river, or a mountain; but in these opinions I shall not search exclusively for the key to the full solution of those mysteries which owe their rise to an ancient, prolonged, and very close connection between truth and allegory. In Physical Science one principle suffices to account for every phenomenon; whereas, in a confused assemblage of creeds and traditions, such as we meet with in mythology, and which flow out from so many sources, one principle of interpretation would at once inspire us with mistrust. Amid the many principles which have been laid down for us hitherto, has there been one, let

me ask, which, in point of fact, has not been found to be absolutely wrong, or at any rate incomplete? I must make an honourable exception in favour of the one which lies at the foundation of Dupuis' most clearly argued treatise "On the Origin of Creeds." And even in that, although Dupuis has carefully marked out the limits within which his principle will hold good, we may perhaps join issue with him for having transgressed those limits himself, and extended their application to details of great uncertainty.

SECTION VI.

DERIVATIONS OF NAMES—INFERENCES WHICH MAY BE DEDUCED FROM THEM, EVEN WHEN DERIVED FROM TWO DIFFERENT LANGUAGES.

Some erroneous.

FROM all those allegories which originate in the meaning of proper names, let us now turn to their true derivation. Some we shall find to be absurd, some overstrained. For instance, Accorso and the jurists of the thirteenth century (ignorant of the fact that the Roman laws always took the name of the magistrate who framed them), derived the names of the Lex Falcidia and the Lex Caninia, from falx (a pruning hook), and canis (a dog); because the former cut off a fourth of any property which a testator might leave in legacies, and secured it to the sole benefit of the legal heir; the latter, because with odious severity it was intended to watch over and check the liberation of slaves. I could easily instance derivations, even more extraordinary than these—more extraordinary, because derived from languages to which the names explained do not belong. Must we on that account reject

the whole science, and close our eyes to the light afforded by those etymologies which are as correct as they are ingenious?

Most important when truly ascertained.

An examination into the etymology and origin of proper names has always been a favourite and special branch of investigation with writers on the subject.* This is not at all

* An analytical notice of these writers is given in "The Historical and Etymological Dictionary of Proper Names, and Greek and Roman Surnames," by M. Noël (8vo, Paris, 1806, pp. 93-97). This notice, however, though carried out to some length, is far from complete—the name of Court de Gébelin is omitted, notwithstanding his being the author of a Treatise on Family Names (Monde primitif., vol. viii., pp. 279-338), in which several instances of curious research are mixed up with other extraordinarily bold assertions. Poinsinet de Givry is also omitted, who, in his "Origine des premières Sociétés" (8vo, Amsterdam and Paris, 1770), threw a new light on the examination of the way in which foreign names were translated among the Greeks and Romans; the same is the case with J. Althusius, a jurist, who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in his "Politica Methodicè Digesta" (Herborn, 1603), sought to prove the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, and whose work on the subject of Roman names gives his readers some exceedingly accurate ideas on the subject (pp. 26 and following)—so much so, that they have generally been transcribed verbatim by subsequent writers; and lastly, Passeri is omitted, whose learned treatises on Etruscan names are a necessary introduction to the study of Roman nomenclature. (De nominibus, prænominibus, cognominibus, et metronymicis Etruscorum in Th. Dempsteri de Etruriâ regali libros, Paraleipomena fol. Lucœ, 1777, pp. 217-238.) As an introduction to the dictionary, there is a historical essay on the proper names of ancient and modern nations. This essay is certainly not all that an inquirer could desire, because M. Noël seldom refers his readers to authentic sources for the grounds of his arguments. Besides this, a number of typical errors may mislead an inattentive reader. At p. 18, he quotes an incident in the history of the Emperor Claudius, which is well known to belong to the reign of Caligula; he mentions (p. 21) a proclamation issued by Francis the First in 1549, whereas that king died on the 31st March 1547. At p. 22 Edward the First is said to have ascended the English throne in 975, whereas he was crowned in 1272. Of the three Edwards of the Saxon race, the second (or the Martyr) began to reign in 975; the first, in 900; and the third, or

the point at which I aim, inasmuch as it is *my* wish to trace the progress of civilization in those details of life, which, because we are familiar with them, are not seen to be important elements in the inquiry. Yet, far from setting aside the value of the science of etymology, I shall constantly seek its aid, in order to enhance the importance of my subject. I must, however, warn my readers here, that, with regard to the derivations on which I shall rest my arguments, those suggested by myself are merely to be taken as conjectures, my object being rather to make my meaning clearer, than definitely to settle the true meaning of proper names.

Sometimes reveal traces of an extinct dialect.

The last traces of a language are rescued from oblivion by proper names, when, through the natural force of circumstances, it is gradually disappearing from a locality where it has long prevailed. These names may be composed of one or two radical words, which frequently furnish us with the first data we have to go upon in the study of a language that is but little known, and as frequently help us to retrace the descent or subsequent dispersion of a people. A similarity once detected as existing in distant countries, between two nations, betrays their identity, though they may themselves have lost sight of their original descent. Accordingly, we find that the same names, and the same finals of names were found among the Gauls and the people of Galatia. The Scandinavian

Confessor, in 1040 ; but the one M. Noël alludes to is plainly the first of the Plantagenet Edwards, since it is from his reign that he dates the introduction of family names in England. Even the dictionary is not without mistakes. Cilnius and Mæcenas are not mentioned, though respectively the name and surname of the friend of Horace and Virgil, and the favourite of Augustus. Neither can we find the name or surname of Cinna, famous in history as the consul who recalled Marius from exile, and the hero of one of the masterpieces of dramatic literature, from the pen of the father of French tragedy.

origin of the Russian Waregians or freebooters (already proved by antecedent historical and geographical probabilities) was further indicated by the name of their first leader, for Rurik is a Scandinavian name. Saxo Grammaticus, in his History of Denmark, speaks of several warriors who were distinguished by the name of Roricus, which was also the title of one of those Norwegian chiefs who fell in the struggle against the tyranny of St. Olof, in the defence of their country's civil and religious liberty.

The founder of the Visigoth dynasty bore a Sanscrit name, Amala, the stainless. This instance, which connects the ancient history of one of the most powerful northern nations with the sacred language of Hindustan, becomes still more noticeable when we quote the name of the Herules,* also derived from the Sanscrit, "Eorl'as," chiefs. In point of fact, the names of nations retain their original form far longer than the names of men. The warrior tribes of Hindustan still retain the Sanscrit name Kshatriya, or Kshatra, which the soldiers of Alexander corrupted into Ξαθροι. In this respect, the names of places are more remarkable than all the rest. A learned Oriental scholar makes the

* Herules. Barbarians of Sarmatia, first mentioned in history in the third century. They lived on the Northern shores of the Black Sea. About the middle of the fifth century they founded a formidable empire on the shores of the Danube, to the north of Thrace. During that same century they invaded Italy, under the command of their king, Odoacer, took Rome, and gave the death-blow to the Roman Empire in the west. Their success was of short duration; they were defeated in 495, and driven out of Italy, whence, after many unsuccessful attempts to settle, they retired to various parts of Germany. From that time they ceased to bear any prominent part in history. They were looked upon as the fiercest of barbarians, and were always obstinate in their refusal to adopt the Christian Faith.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

following remark:—" In a description of Egypt, to quote Coptic is to quote Egyptian names." A great number of places in Bokhara are known by names which are derived from either the Gothic or the Persian language, hence M. Malte-Brun argues that the inhabitants of Bokhara are not, as is commonly believed, of Tartar origin, and this conjecture was further confirmed by a distinguished traveller, who satisfied himself that their mother tongue was the Persian.

Leibnitz was right in thinking that the names of places are the most likely to perpetuate the remains of an obsolete dialect, and to aid in retracing the existence of extinct nationalities. The things they designate survive, whilst men and nations disappear altogether from the scene, or become dispersed. A medal, or a structure, have sometimes sufficed to warrant the antiquarian's admission of certain reigns, migrations, and conquests, that had left no traces; and yet mistakes may occur in the interpretation of a monument, a date, or the meaning and genuineness of a medal. Neither place nor country can bear a name without having received it from men who formerly spoke the language. The provincial dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Bugey, and the French spoken in the vicinity of Paris, manifest but very slight traces of the old Celtic idiom; and yet, a little above Nogent-sur-Seine, in an embankment raised to keep the river up to a particular level, required for power by a large manufactory, the opening made for the overflow is called the Livon.* A native of

* Lif, Liv, overflow—inundation. Lifo, Liva, to overflow—to inundate.—" Etymological dictionary," published by M. Eloi. Johanneau, at the end of the " Monuments Celtiques," by Cambry, Paris, 8vo, 1805, p. 363. Many other names are probably derived from the same root. Liffer, the old name of an Irish lake (now called Loch Derg), in Donegal (*Tr.'s note*), in the middle of which there is an island, where the

Armorica who might chance to hear the name, would remember that in his native tongue it means an overflow, or an inundation.

If a native of Wales were taken to the ruins of the old temple of Isarnore,* to a spot where the ruins of a city are deeply hidden beneath the waving corn and green pasture lands, he would perhaps be less struck by the external appearance of this monument of the past (which too few go to visit), than by the name which is borrowed from his own language, and at once he would remember its derivation (the edge, the blade of a pruning hook or scythe, or axe), and attribute it either to the cornfields† and meadows that studded the valley, or to the shape of the mountains that enclosed it, or to those deeds of daring which tradition tells us were achieved beneath the walls of the ancient city, a place of great strength, erected to command the entrances, on that side, to one of the passes of the Jura—therefore, if history were silent, we might assert, without fear of contradiction, that near the Lake of Nantua, on the banks of the Seine, there lived a people of old who spoke a language whose dialects

monks have localized the purgatory of St. Patrick; Livinière, a small town in Languedoc, where the swift packet-boats are taken for Béziers, and which are famous for waters of three remarkable depths—Livon, the name of several kings in Lesser Armenia; Lalive, the name of a French family, etc. etc.

* For the ruins and temple of Isarnore, see Notice of Works executed by the Academy of the department of Gard, year 1807, pp. 378-385, and more especially the paper written by M. Th. Riboud, inserted in the Annual Register of the Department of Ain, for the year xi.

† Thomas Richards, Welsh and English Dictionary, 8vo, Bristol, 1753. Isarn, *i.e.*, scythe, sickle, or battle-axe. Or, *i.e.*, edge, cutting, etc. Tsarn is still found as a man's name in France; Tsarn-Valady, one of the deputies who was outlawed on the 2d of June 1793; Tsarn, a physician, author of Atmospheric Lithology (1 vol. 8vo), Paris, 1803.

may still be heard in Wales, in Lower Brittany, in Scotland, and in Ireland.

Names which can only be explained by one dialect date from a period when there had been no great admixture of races. After nations have been connected with each other by colonization, or by conquest, their languages, though different at first, will merge gradually into one through natural interchange of speech, just as their blood and their families do by frequent intermarriages. But, before this is effected, some few terms in each language will join together to form words, used only by the vulgar at first, then gradually introduced into common use by frequent occurrence, or by custom, that capricious tyrant, who, by turns, creates and destroys all elements and rules of language. The most learned philologists, I am well aware, do not allow that two idioms can co-exist in one derivation, but facts are stronger than mere opinion. In the last days of the Roman Empire, it is remarkable what a number of Greek words are borrowed, not only from the Latin, but from the various dialects of their allies, their subjects, and their enemies. The Celtic language in this country was, in course of time, mixed up in like manner, here with Saxon, there with Latin; of this we have instances afforded us in the dictionaries of the Provincial dialects spoken in England and France during the middle ages, and with their aid we are able to trace them in the perfected language of our country at the present day. In the natural course of events, these mongrel words (if I may so term them), become distinctive appellations of new divisions of people and lands, and of titles granted to certain offices in the community; they also become surnames, and lastly proper names. In the names which were adopted by several of the cities in Gaul in the

Names derived from one dialect only.

Names derived from more than one language.

time of the Emperors, as for instance in Juliodunum and Augustodunum, we recognize the Celtic word tun or dun (mountain) joined to a Roman name. Speaking of the fortresses erected or repaired by Justinian, Procopius mentions Polis-Castellum and Potamo-Castellum (the castle of the city, or the castle of the river); in these names the mixture of Greek and Latin is obvious. A knowledge of the language then spoken on the frontiers of the Empire, but more especially of the Slavonic idiom, would reveal to us another element besides Latin and Greek in the names quoted by the same author. Radoslav, a King of Bosnia in the seventh century, having served under the Roman standard, married a Roman lady, and named the son she bore to him Petroslav. The son married in Rome too, and called his heir Paulimir,* in both cases a Slavonic final is joined to a christian name.

If we turn our attention to one of those productions of the middle ages in which Christian creeds, co-temporary institutions, and older national traditions are all mixed up together, and further, in which many of the superstitions explained are borrowed from the histories of Greece and Rome, we shall begin to understand how among the Greeks and Romans, and, in point of fact, in all nations, a vast mythology may be created. In the romance of the Round Table there is a knight who is always designated by the same title, the Morholt. Mor is the Celtic for sea, holt is a Saxon word. The Saxons we are told had settled in England long before the supposed institution of the Round Table. The verb hold,

* In the Illyrian dialect, Mir means literally wall, and metaphorically support, resting-place, prince; Gliucomir, barbarian prince; Draghimir, amiable prince, etc. (Appendini, Notizie istorico-critiche sulla republica di Ragusa, 1802-1803, vol. i., pp. 75-76.)

pronounced holt in many dialects, signifies to hold, to direct, to govern. The knight we are speaking of was the son of an Irish king, and held sway on the sea; another instance this of a title, to the composition of which two languages have contributed.

The name Theodelind or Theudelinde, honourably mentioned both in political and in Christian biographies, was of frequent occurrence in countries of Teutonic origin, and yet the Teutonic idiom can only be detected in its former part, the latter can only now be found in the Spanish where, etymologically, it has a right to be placed. (Theod, Theot, a multitude or nation; Linda, beautiful, pretty; or the pre-eminently beautiful.) The Goths, who were long in Spain, left there many of their native words; hence it is not a little remarkable to find among them one which has been allowed by their descendants to disappear from the still-spoken language, to which the name Theodolind proves that it formerly belonged.

Nanthilda,* the proper name of a nun who became the wife of Dagobert after his separation from his first wife, was also derived from the languages of two different countries when they were beginning to merge into one. Nant,† in Celtic, means a ravine, a small torrent, a brook. Hild or

* Nanthildem quamdam puellam, a monasterio raptam, in matrimonium sibi junxit. (De Gestis Francorum, lib. iv. cap. xix.)

† Nant. This name has retained its meaning, not only in Wales (See Richards' Anglo-Welsh Dictionary), but also in the Valleys of Savoy, in the neighbourhood of Geneva, and in the Jura districts, as far as Nantua, a town which bears this very name in another form. It enters into the composition of many river and torrent names (as Nant d'Alpernas, Nant-noir, Nant-sauvage, Nant-chambet; Tour-nant, Trai-nant, Tuer-nant, etc.), and like our own name Rivière has become the proper name of many families.

child, in Teutonic, means infant or child, child of the torrent, a name which reminds us very much of those we meet with frequently in Caledonian poetry, and which refers no doubt to some story long since forgotten.

In the only province of France where the various dialects of our ancestral idiom are still extant, there are two names of places in which we can trace the composite character of their derivation from both the older and more recent languages notwithstanding the alteration in their orthography. Chateaubriant is nothing but the castle of the king or chief; (Bryan or Breyen); and Paimbœuf,* which in Lower Brittany is still expressed by the name of Pen-ochen (ox-head).

It seems only reasonable to admit that a name, which is proved to have been borrowed from two languages, indicates by its very composition an intercourse of some kind between the people who spoke those languages. History bears its testimony to the correctness of the cases we have quoted. Had it been silent, I will not go so far as to say that they could have been considered irrefragable proofs, still they would have contained in themselves sufficient antecedent probability to add considerably to the weight of other indications.

* A combination of two idioms has produced nouns substantive, as well as nouns proper. Nichilandos for instance (nichil for nihil, nothing), *i.e.*, nothing on the back, was a fashionable article of clothing in France in the 15th century—it covered the chest only, *not the back*, hence its name.

SECTION VII.

USE OF THE STUDY OF NAMES :—1ST, IN THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND ITS KINDRED SCIENCES—GEOGRAPHY ADDUCED AS AN INSTANCE.

No idle inquiry.

It must have been made obvious by this time that our inquiries are not suggested by merely idle curiosity, but that the part played by proper names in the existence of individuals and nations, connects the advantages we reap from a study of them with all branches of historical learning. In a list of the old kings of Abyssinia, about the year 251, after the reign of Za-Elasguaga, we find that the prefix Za or Zo, which is peculiar to the names of the shepherd kings from their earliest date, is only given to three princes, who can scarcely be said to have done anything but ascend the throne, and are only separated from Za-Elasguaga by one sovereign ; the name of this last, like that of his twelve successors, is preceded by the word El. This new prefix seems (according to Mr. Salt*) to designate a foreign dynasty which drove the older one from the throne during the latter half of the third century. Annals and traditions are alike silent upon this important fact, but the English traveller's conjecture is as probable as it is ingenious, and deserves to be cleared up by further inquiry.

Useful in study of ancient history.

It were superfluous to prove, by instances, the connection which exists between the study of proper names and the science of ancient history, numismatics, language, criticism, and philology, or to shew that it is the especial province of that

* Salt. Second voyage to Abyssinia (translated edition, Paris 1816, two vols. 8vo), 2d vol., pp. 244-248.

study to rid historical annals of any confusion which may have been caused by corrupted, erroneously transcribed, or still more erroneously translated names. Here, however, we must request our readers to consider what influence the right or wrong interpretation of a proper name may have had upon its assigned derivation, when the true source could not be traced with certainty; and how frequently we find, that in all nations there are more or less wonderful histories recorded, which have no other foundation than that which rests on some proper name, whereas it is generally supposed that the proper name is founded upon the history. If, through a study of proper names, we arrive at these sources of error, and disentangle genuine traditions from a tissue of ridiculous stories hardly worthy of a place, out of the domains of allegory, we shall build up the certainty of history on a surer foundation, and eliminate from our criticisms that spirit of scepticism which is all the more dangerous from its being supported by an apparently more plausible system of reasoning.

The name of a man retains the impress of his country, and sometimes of the period in which he lived; the name of a country reminds us of its geographical position and its external configuration: the name of a town refers to the period of its foundation, to the customs or the religious creed, or a trait in the history of the people who founded it at first, though perhaps in some foreign land. These very slight indications may sometimes suffice, in chronology and geography, to correct a date or a position, to give precision to some vague notion, or to settle a disputed question. The truth of the 10th chapter of Genesis has been impugned on historical grounds. How can we imagine that the posterity of one single individual should have increased with sufficient rapi-

dity to cover the earth, in the third generation, from the 42d degree of latitude to within 9 degrees of the equator, over an extent of thirty degrees of longitude? When drawn out by Volney, the genealogy of Noah's children exhibits to our view a geographical sketch and an exact enumeration of the names and positions of all the nations that were known when the book of Genesis was written. One fact need only be remembered—and it has been found to be as true in the very earliest periods of history as it is now—viz., that when the people of the East designate another people by the name of the country they live in, they call them the *children of that country.** We know that the conquerors of Andalusia, the Vandals, gave their name to that province; the people of the East are ignorant of this, and derive this name from Andalus, a son of Japhet and grandson of Noah, by whose descendants, say they, Spain was peopled. So it is that the name of one country, personified in common use, and metaphorically applied, ends by usurping for itself a place in history.

SECTION VIII.

SECONDLY, IN LITERATURE — CASES IN WHICH NATIONAL PREJUDICES ADMIT OR REJECT ALLUSIONS IN PROPER NAMES, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, PLAYING UPON NAMES.

How the inquiry affects the literary man.

If I now go a step farther, and tell the literary man that he too may derive advantage from the study of names, he will readily grant, that it will help him to clear up genealogies and

* Beni Masr, the children of Egypt; Beni Sham, the children of Syria; Beni Franza, the children of France.—(Volney, Recent Researches in Ancient History, 1st Part, ch. xviii; Complete Works, 8 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1821. Vol. iv. pp. 219-240.)

certain details of history; and further, that such a study will likewise prevent the ridiculous mistakes which are sometimes made by translators (those laborious writers whose sphere lies at the very point of union, if we may so speak, between literature and learning), as, for instance, when the name of a man is taken for that of a mountain or a harbour. He will also be free to confess, with regard to himself, that he will be saved from the introduction of barbarisms in proper names, such as, the mistaking of Grecian names for Egyptian, of African names for Indian, and from the giving to Chinese characters names which the Chinese themselves could not even pronounce; while it will also prevent any praising of the roses in Chloris' cheeks, and the sweet melancholy of Euphrosyne,—the former of these names implying paleness and the latter a cheerful disposition. In my opinion, it will even guard us against the error which is attributed to Virgil by a writer of the fifth century—viz., that of giving similar names to different characters without adding, as Homer does, a distinctive epithet or surname; so that, in the 10th and 12th Books of the Æneid, we read of the warlike achievements of a hero who was reported to be slain in the 9th.

But authors may offer as an objection to this, that beyond these trivial benefits no good accrues to their inspirations, and no additional light is thrown upon the more refined theories of poetry and oratory by our investigations into proper names.

To which I reply, that our researches will furnish us with an answer to a debated question. Must we or must we not admit the existence of allusions in proper names? And do these allusions belong to the infancy of art, and their rejection to its more perfect state?

One of a race of men whom we consider to be less removed

than ourselves from a state of nature, a Delaware chief, is said to have asked the meaning of Colonel Sprout's name. The colonel was a man of remarkable size. The chief was told it meant a shoot, either from the branch or the root of a tree. "No," replied he, "he cannot be the shoot, he is the tree itself." Why was the question already alluded to put by the Imaum of Muscat, and whence afterwards the play upon words which seems to us so meaningless? From this, viz., that in consequence of national habit, a native of America cannot understand the existence of any but significant names, and because, where names have retained their significations, and each name is supposed to be derived from a personal peculiarity in the individual who bears that name, it is just as easy to allude to it as to the peculiarity described. Wherever these conditions are complied with, allusions in names are received with favour; wherever such is not the case, they are deemed childish. Even in the present day the most fastidious taste cannot indiscriminately reject all allusions in personal names. What speaker, if he were calling attention to the execution of the unfortunate De Thou, would hesitate to exclaim—"And is it Louis *the Just* who orders *this injustice* to be done?" What surnames are to us, proper names were to other people. Allusions and meanings in names.

Instead of expressing things by the names that belong to them, the Hebrews expressed them by what they signify. Instead of saying, "Factus est in Jerusalem locus ejus" (his dwelling-place is at Jerusalem), they said, "Factus est in *pace* locus ejus" (his dwelling-place is in *peace*), because Salem means peace. So also, instead of saying *Isaiah*, they used the word *calumnia*, because the meaning of the name Isaiah is calumnia or calumny. One of the ornaments of style in their Among the Hebrews.

books consisted in the introduction of a word which bears a great likeness to the proper name. Moses, whose name when translated means "drawn out," is the one who "draws" or leads the people of God out of the land of Egypt; Nabal, *i. e.*, "fool," kindles David's anger by his folly. This choice of words is so intentionally studied, that the writer is always careful to avoid the same allusions, for too frequent a use of them might give the narrative an air of fable, and lead the reader to imagine that the events recorded were either fabricated or arranged according to the names of the characters introduced.

In a language where allusions in proper names are so natural that they are almost involuntarily suggested, and require care to be avoided, the same allusions, made intentionally will not be out of place on the most serious occasions; a constant habit of referring the notion of the thing signified by the name to the person whose name it is, will prevent any but the most senseless from seeing either affectation or childishness in that justly celebrated prophecy "Thou art Peter (*i. e.*, rock), and upon this rock will I build my church."

In more recent times.

Four centuries later, true to the spirit of the Hebrew language, St. Jerome adds the meaning of the authors' names and several pious allusions, to an enumeration of some sacred writings. Among the Hebrews, the remembrance of any circumstance connected with the birth of a child, or an indication of its future career, was carefully preserved in the name given to it, though that name might be subsequently altered in consequence of some other important event, and another name be substituted for the original one. How then could they forget the meaning of a name when they spoke of

the individual it designated, when in fact it recorded in a manner his personal history?

In dramatic literature.

The dramatic art is a picture of human life; and in the details of life allusions in significant names must frequently be made. We cannot be surprised, then, when we find in a Hindu drama, that Sacontala addresses her companion thus, "Rightly have men named thee Pryamvada," *i.e.*, "the utterer of gracious words."

Euripides makes Orestes allude to his name, and reflect on it as symbolical of sorrow and misfortune;* even Racine† with all his severity of criticism could find no fault with the expression. In one of the choruses of the Agamemnon,‡ the classic Æschylus devotes twelve lines to a bitter allusion to the meaning of Helen's name, as prognosticating war and destruction. Sophocles, ever free from bad taste or affectation, puts into the mouth of the despairing Philoctetes a disparaging allusion to the name of Pyrrhus.§ Modern translators have often tried to make apologies for what might seem an unwarrantable play upon words, but no apology was needed in a city where to commemorate the self-sacrifice and courageous heroism of Lecena, the inhabitants themselves had erected the bronze figure of a lioness.

The name assumed by Ulysses in the Cyclops' cave (οὔτις, no one), an extraordinary one to us, and the numerous equivoques to which it gives rise, have seemed to some writers to need explanation. Some have thought it necessary to say in apology, that however gross the deception, it was commensurate with the want of intelligence of Polyphemus. It arose,

* Euripides. Orestes, Act. ii., Sc. i.

† Remarks on Poetry, chap. vi.

‡ Æschylus. Agamemnon, v. 690-701.

§ ὦ πῦρ σὺ, καὶ πᾶν δεῖμα, κ.τ.λ. v. 927..

however, merely from the nature of the language, in which proper names would frequently and unintentionally cause similar mistakes.

In Grecian comedy, that offspring of genius and liberty of speech which was so nearly allied to licentiousness, there was less restraint than in tragedy and epic poetry, in the use of the means which afforded so many resources for satirical allusions. Aristophanes availed himself of this freely, and where he does not positively introduce living characters, he gives them without any hesitation a name which by its meaning expresses exactly the part they enact in the play. We cannot find fault with him for doing so, for the Greeks, among whom he lived, bore names which were individually significant, and therefore as indicative as any fictitious names that could be invented. The invention of the one, therefore, and the use of the other, are alike warranted by good taste and the custom of the times.

A species of consistency between the names of people and their characters must have been of common occurrence in the plays of Epicharmus, Menander, and Apollodorus, so far as we can judge from the writings of their imitators Plautus and Terence.

It was no doubt because he copied the same models, that Plautus, who was less scrupulous than Terence in his mode of raising a laugh, made frequent allusions in the proper names he adopted. The men of his time admired this; whereas Horace turns the over-licentiousness of their humour into ridicule. This great change which suddenly came over the taste of the Romans, we must now endeavour to explain. In Rome, family names were hereditary; and as they were accordingly common to a great number of individuals, they

furnished no opening for allusions, which, if they were to be at all telling, must through the name have reached the individual. But surnames were individual,* and almost all of them either given or sanctioned by the public voice, *i.e.*, by common consent.

It was that common consent which, in the case of the great Pompey, perpetuated the title of Great which Sulla had given to him; while the same voice refused to Sulla the name of Fortunate, notwithstanding the fact that, as regulator of the famous proscriptions, he had been able to insert it in the public acts, and to have it engraved on marble columns, and bronze medals, but could not succeed in having it registered in the annals of history. As they were so much mixed up with public opinion, it is evident that surnames must have been constantly liable to allusions. I can say nothing with certainty respecting the manner in which they were used in the comedies of the time (togatæ), for none of these are extant; but we cannot doubt their success on the stage, when we see that in the most serious matters of business, they became topics which ministered to the eloquence of the orator. Cicero does not hesitate to couple a bitter sarcasm with the horror inspired by a well drawn picture of the cruelties perpetrated by Sicily's destroyer, for he indulges

* Some surnames became hereditary, see Sect. 25, in which case a *personal* surname was usually added; *ex. gr.*, Scipio Nasica—Piso Frugi —Lentulus Sura. The title was as individual as the surname, but as these titles were few in number, so they were immaterial in their signification. The title of Quintus supplied Plautus with an opportunity of playing upon words, which easily became a popular joke, or which perhaps had become one, and was perpetuated by the poet. Mercury boasts of having killed four men; "Ah!" says Sosia, "I fear me much I shall have to change my name; I fear I shall be called Quintus (the fifth)."—See Amphitruo, Act. i., Sc. i., v. 148-9.

freely in satirical allusions to the name of Verres. Later on, he attacks L. Piso, and charges him with an extravagant and abandoned course of life, while he dares to bear the name of Frugi, a name which his ancestors had deservedly borne before him. The advocate of an extortioner, who was being prosecuted by Q. Lutatius Catulus, once thought he could disconcert his somewhat too vehement adversary by a sarcasm of this kind, "Quid latras Catule?" (why do you bark little dog, or you puppy). "I see a thief," Catulus at once replied.

A hundred and fifty years later, even in a style of writing which admits of great license, two poets who cannot be much praised for the purity of their taste, adopted nevertheless a very different course. Juvenal in his satires, never ventures on allusions in proper names, and Martial only allows one here and there to slip in among his far too numerous epigrams. In order to find any before their time we must go back to Horace. The subject of one of his satires is an allusion to the name of Rex or King, an allusion fraught with danger at that time to any one who aspired to kingly authority.* It is easy to infer that the writing of that satire was prior to the time when Horace

* Per magnos, Brute, deos te
Oro, qui *reges* consueris tollere, cur non
Hunc *regem* jugulas? Operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.
Horat. Serm. lib. i., Sat. vii., v. 33-35.

In the lines,

Rectè nec ne crocum floresque perambulet Attæ
Fabula, si dubitem, etc.
Horat. Epist. lib. ii., Ep. i., v. 79-80.

Et. B. Viel, one of the most ingenious commentators on the works of Horace, and the author of Telemachus done into Latin verse, thinks that there is a malicious allusion made here to the surname of Atta, which means "walking with difficulty, dragging the feet, lame." Horace describes the comedies of Atta as being as lame in their progress or success as their writer.

was expiating, by his fulsome flatteries of Octavius, the fact of having commanded a legion during the last years of the republic.

There occurred about that time, in the system of giving proper names, a very similar change to that which was going on in the laws and customs of the country; a change which could not but have some influence upon public taste. Not only did surnames gradually become hereditary, but the license of popular opinion, which was intentionally mixed up with the libellous and licentious tendencies of a factious spirit, was reduced to silence by the exercise of a power which became vested in a single individual. Surnames were no longer commonly given; when given, were no longer criticised. As things were then, what could be their value or their intention? Allusions to what had no longer a personal significance, were rightly discarded, and in order to obliterate them more thoroughly from cotemporary history, those who were deemed authorities in matters of taste began to find fault with the admiration those allusions had met with in older times.

Playing upon names.

I am well aware that Horace's opinion is unfavourable to all jokes (sales) perpetrated by the comic poets—and consequently to all playing upon words—whereas Plautus revels in that style. The two can hardly be separated, the one flows from the other; together, they are appreciated or disliked. Playing upon words in a general way is something indefinite; if apart from its original application, it can only be looked upon as a joke, sometimes poor, sometimes incomplete. We have to make an effort to realize or understand it. Now, an allusion to a significant proper name, is self-evident; it is understood at once. It may be suggested by any of our various passions; it may be fearful, or affecting; it may be

facetious and epigrammatic; in a word, it applies to a single individual specially pointed out, and this very singling out adds to its force; it must have been the first kind introduced. From playing upon names, it became easy to play upon words, especially when the former have ceased to convey a meaning which is exclusively applicable to the person designated. The success which attended the comedies of Plautus proved that the Romans appreciated equally both these kinds of facetiousness; the success of Aristophanes' plays proves the same among the Greeks. A taste for these things, however, which may still be clearly traced in the Dialogues of Lucian, is no longer visible in the last days of the Roman Empire. They ceased when the Greeks began to assume the name of saints reverenced by the church; for such names could suggest no idea that could be connected with any personal allusion.

The same theory holds good with respect to what has gone on in more recent times. Instead of the family names which we bear in our days we had for a long period nothing but individual names, followed by significant surnames. These were still very general when the first attempts were made in French versification, and their long continuance had its effect on national taste. To this we may trace all the allusions which we find to significant surnames and the frequent playing upon words. To this also we must look as the origin of that species of short poem which was called the Rondeau,* and was especially devoted to facetiousness and

* In the beautiful Rondeau composed by Prépetit de Grammont and directed against Benserade, the words "la fontaine," or the fountain, after being used to designate the celebrated fountain of the Horse, or Hippocrene, is used again as a common noun, and a third time as the name of the immortal fable writer.

satire; the art of playing upon words is its especial characteristic, for the first two words of the first line have to be repeated twice, and each time in a different sense. Frequent puns and allusions to proper names spoil the wit of Marot and Rabelais, and weary us by their profuseness in the tragedies and comedies of Shakespeare. There are too many in the dramatic works of Lope de Vega and other Spanish poets. The earlier comic poets of Italy are guilty of the same abuse of punning expressions, and among them we may notice especially Cardinal Bibbiena in the Calandria, one of the earliest works written at the commencement of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth, allusions to proper names were still frequent in Germany, not only in literature generally, but even in matters of the greatest importance.* Permanently established family names were gradually introduced into Italy, France, England, Spain, and Germany. As they were frequently derived from obsolete dialects, their meaning is now lost—others derive their origin from the names of places, and their meaning was accordingly solely applicable to those places. I conclude therefore that allusions to proper names are equally with playing upon words, a sign of bad taste, and that they ought, like the latter, to be classed with the lowest style of wit. We can hardly grant even to writers of epigrams the right to allude in joke to those coincidences which sometimes occur between the character and position of a man and the name which he bears.

Both, in a literary point of view, are in bad taste.

* It was a common saying in those days in Vienna, that the Emperor (Ferdinand the Second), had among his possessions three very high mountains, Questenberg, Verdenberg, and Eggenberg, and three very precious stones, Diectrichstein, Lichtenstein, and Vallenstein, because the names of these noble lords ended in stein and berg, the meaning of which is stone and mountain.

As these coincidences, however, can only exist in any striking manner through some freak of chance, the man of good literary taste will not allow, even in comedy, that a character's name should afford any indication of the part he has to play. The drollery of the piece must emanate from the subject itself, not from some fortuitous circumstance which is foreign to it. It is only to the lowest of his comic characters that Molière attaches such names as Pourceaugnac,* or De Sotenville, or that Regnard gives those of Toutabas, Madame Grognac, and Madame La Ressource. English writers of comedy, on the contrary, make frequent use of this mode of naming their characters. I shall not, I think, be accused of either partiality or prejudice if I quote, as an instance of what I mean, the School for Scandal, which is, in my opinion, the best modern play on the stage in England. All the characters have significant names; a young hypocrite who affects an appearance of the most scrupulous virtue is well named Surface, but unfortunately in the play he has a brother and an uncle whose open and generous dispositions are in direct opposition to his own, and yet these two characters bear the same family name, both are also called Surface. How is it that such an inconsistency as this failed to strike Sheridan? How is it that it did not at once lead him to perceive the faultiness of so vulgar a resource, which is alike despised by all writers for the German and Danish stages?

* A reference clearly to the word pourçeau, *swine*; De Sot-en-ville, or *Town-fool*; Toutabas, *down with everything!* Grognac from Grogner, *to be fretful*; and Madame La Ressource, *some lady full of expedients and management.*—(*Tr's. note*).

SECTION IX.

THIRDLY, IN THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.

If, from the foregoing remarks, which are well adapted to modify the apparent dryness of our subject, we now proceed to more important considerations, we may go on to state that the study of proper names is not without interest to the moralist, the political economist, the legislator, and the student of the history of civilization.

Names are the expression of public opinion, and therefore important.

Can the moral influence of names, and significant surnames be denied, when we find that they are to a certain extent the expression of public opinion. And such is invariably the case when public opinion can avail itself of this mode of asserting its conclusions.

Many of our ancient and modern institutions are intimately connected with the meaning and continued existence of proper names. It has been well said that hereditary names perpetuate the memory of our ancestors better than any other monument, an affectionate remembrance this, surely, and one which fosters the cause of morality; they teach, or at any rate remind sons of their duty to be worthy of their ancestors. In one place, they will prevent confusion of rank in the established grades of society, in another, they will furnish to the legislature the fearful power of entailing double disgrace on a man's posterity by his own acts. Are these various results sure to ensue, and are they so recorded in history, or are they more deserving of blame than of eulogy? Such questions as these would lead us too far from the immediate object of our inquiry; it is our duty to state what has been, not what ought to have been done.

Whether proper names be beneficial in their consequences or not, inasmuch as they are the necessary instruments in the least as well as in the greatest of our social transactions, they must naturally exercise an influence, which, although it is often a hidden one, is nevertheless none the less real. Suppose that regulations have to be made with respect to the succession of heirs to the estates of their ancestors; that we have to record accurately the successive phases of the civil list, or to bring home to an individual some piece of evidence or vague accusation which only now affects him by common report, and specifies nothing but a name; in a word, if it be considered advantageous to strengthen the operations of the law, and all such social relationships as turn upon names, in order subsequently to reach the individual, will any one say that it is a matter of indifference whether the name be single, *i.e.*, one, and merely individual; common to many,* or properly belonging to one only; whether it be followed by some arbitrary surname, or by one which recalls the tribe of which the man is a member, or the ancestor, who is acknowledged to be the stock of the family. Further advantages will be obtained if hereditary names be given to a whole family, and if (by some addition mutually agreed upon) every individual who bears the common name be further more specifically dis-

* A story is told of a witness who gave evidence against one Cornelius, who was the master of a slave named Phileros. Cicero, in his defence of Caius Cornelius, maintained that such evidence could not be considered as telling against his client, on account of its vague nature, and remarked farther, that the name Phileros was extremely common, and that of Cornelius of more frequent occurrence still. "Quid .... respondeam posse fieri ut alius aliquis Cornelius sit qui habeat Philerotem? Res nota est vulgare esse nomen Philerotis; Cornelios verò ita multos ut jam etiam collegium constitutum sit.—(Pro C. Cornelio, Fragm. apud Asconium.)

tinguished, till the sex, the order of birth, condition in marriage, and even paternity be fully described.

Common experience may throw considerable light upon this subject, for all these various forms of nomenclature have been adopted from time to time, in some places only partially, in different countries, or without any attention being paid to their real value. The usefulness of proper names has been almost universally spoilt by the abuse made of them, or they have been gradually lost in the numerous alterations which have been effected by superstition, pride, and caprice.

Names vary, in many countries, according to the social position, wealth, or power of a man; then again, they are modified or totally changed through the influence of fear or childish hope, or through some mistaken notion of obedience to a religious command; or, again, through a wish to satisfy the vanity which condemns a son to blush for his father.

National character evidenced by names.

When viewed with reference to their variations, and even to their invention, proper names enable us, in some respects, to study the national character of a people, and the standard of civilization to which they have attained.

Religious creeds devoid of intellectual principle, may be noticed under two very different aspects in the central portions of the higher mountainous districts of Asia, and on the banks of the Nile and the Tacazze. In the one, there is great depravity, and yet an unlimited belief in the power of certain beings who can always be propitiated by acts of homage and prayer; in the other, there exists the most exemplary purity of life, and yet the most abject fear of a malevolent deity. The inhabitants of Tibet, who have never been noticed unfavourably for anything but their creed, give to their children the names of the lowest order of beings in creation, in order

that their much-feared deity may disdain so worthless a prize, and may remain unprovoked to anger by any ambitious expectation which might possibly be suggested by a more ostentatious title. Notwithstanding the absence of all moral principle, the people of modern Abyssinia, who acknowledge no virtue but that of superstition, usually give to both men and places, names which are especially calculated to secure the protection of the deity, or of one of his most favoured spirits. In a despotically governed country, the head of the state will often receive a species of homage very nearly allied to that offered by a superstitious creed to its divinity, and dictated by the same spirit of subservience. When the fierce Nadir was about to deprive the decrepit Shah Thamas of his throne and his life, he used to affect the humble title of Thamas Kouli, or slave of Thamas.

In the republics of Greece, and more especially in Sparta and in Athens, men's names reminded one in a thousand ways of the power, valour, virtues and victories of the people.* Again, in the temples of Athens and Sparta the statues of the people were placed next to those of Jupiter and the principal deities.

In those extensive regions which lie between the north of Bactriana and the boundaries of Assyria, the word *Asp*† was

* Agesilaus, Charidemus, Charilaus, Demagoras, Demaretes, Democrates. Demonicus, Demophilus, Demosthenes, Laosthenes, Nicolaus, Laodice, etc.

† Hydaspes, Choaspes, *rivers;* Zariaspe, *ancient name of the capital of Bactriana;* Aspadana, *ancient name of Ispahan;* Porochasp, Hetchedasp, Peterasp, *father and ancestors of Zoroaster* (see life of Zoroaster, Zend-Avesta, 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1771; vol. i., 2d part, p. 8); Gustasp, *cotemporary King;* Hystaspes, *the father of Darius;* Ariaspes, *the son of Artaxerxes Memnon;* the *Aspasiac Scythians, near the river Oxus;* Aspebades, an ancestor, on the mother's side, of Chosroes; Amazaspes,

formerly of most frequent occurrence in the names of men, nations, and places. The same remark applies with equal truth to the names which were borne by the ancestors of Zoroaster, and to those which are cotemporary with the last days of the Roman empire; and it is also equally applicable to the times of those Islam warriors who changed not only the religion of the people, but their political condition, their customs, and even their names. Aspo in Zend, and Asp in Persian mean "*horse*;" * can we imagine anything more natural than that this word should be frequently introduced into the composition of the names of warlike nations, amongst whom the warrior is in a manner inseparable from his horse? The proper names of the Tcherkessians are evidently suggested by their flocks and the wool they supply; by the faithful dogs that watch over their safety, and who, by their wonderful instinct, second the sportsman's skill.† Among the Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes, men were frequently named after savage beasts. May we not infer from this that the Tcherkessians, although much given to field pursuits, derived the greatest portion of their wealth from the produce of their flocks; and that the Germans, who were wholly occupied in

order of Justinian (Procopius de bell. pers. lib i., ch. xi., and lib. ii., cap. iii.); Aspietes, *an Armenian of the family of the Arsacidæ* (Vide Comnenus' History of the Emperor Alexis, Bk. xii., ch. i.) We have purposely multiplied these instances, because the observation which is founded upon them will serve to explain a name which has been wrongly interpreted, and led some to believe that the bearers of that name, the Arimaspi, are not real but imaginary beings. See § 79.

* Zend Avesta, vol. ii., pp. 434-506.

† The following is a list of names in frequent use among the Tcherkessians: son of wool; son of wealth; son of the scythe; lamb of God; young of dog; prince of dogs, etc. (See "Travels of Jules Klaproth on Mt. Caucasus and in Georgia, 1807-1808.

hunting and war, made it their boast to compare themselves for strength and courage with the animals they were daily chasing in the field. Labourers in the Basque Provinces are almost all of them small landowners, and the usual style of address in speaking to them, is to call them "lord of the house." Accordingly we feel no surprise when we notice that many of their names refer to the condition of their house.* How many, within the last two centuries, in a very large class of society, have disguised their own name under that of some real or fictitious place. The last-named form of title used to denote a man of noble parentage, a lord of the manor in his own right, and if any one appropriated that title he was no longer considered to be in a state of vassalage, but to have merged into the higher grade of lordship.

SECTION X.

VARIOUS EFFECTS WHICH RESULT FROM IDENTIFYING THE NAME WITH THE INDIVIDUAL.

Names more identified with men than places.

IF the national characteristics of a people be represented by a choice of names which express or recal to our minds the more familiar notions and aims of ordinary men, the representation will be more correct in the names of men than in those of places. The latter seldom change, the former often do with the individuals who bear them, and may, by their alteration, give us a clue to the various successive phases through which the history of a nation may have passed. Besides, identity of name with the thing signified by the

* Etche-Berry, new house; Etche Cahar, old house; Jourgay-Berry, new castle; Salaberry, new hall, etc.

name, properly belongs to the names of men; in all other cases, it only assumes a reality for the person who gives the name; whereas, in the case last quoted, the identity is felt by the person who gives the name, and more strongly still by him who receives it.

This feeling of identity produces many and various results in ourselves and in others.

Results of identity of name and person.

The people of Tonkin attach a religious importance to the respect due to their dead. When a man dies, at a distance from home, and his remains cannot conveniently be removed to that home, his parents write his name upon a board which is carried in the funeral procession as a substitute for the absent corpse of the friend whose loss they are deploring. Tonkin.

In the Island of Java, if a man's name be written on a skull, a bone, a shroud, a bier, or an image made of paste, and the name thus written be placed on the threshold, or in a place where two roads meet, a fearful enchantment will be wrought against the person whose name is so inscribed—one which is alluded to with great severity in the more ancient codes of law, and which, when discovered, could only be expiated by the death of the convicted person and that of all his family. Java.

In like manner, among the Greeks and Romans, and in Europe down to the seventeenth century, a man was supposed to be devoted by curious magic arts to certain death, if an image of himself were burnt or pierced with needles. The notion of identity is ever connected with proper names just as it is with the thing or the person they describe. Greece and Rome.

What is the origin of that feeling of vanity which induces children and uneducated people to write or carve their names on walls? What is the origin of that other piece of vanity, which might seem more excusable, viz., that of

writing one's name in the album of some person of fashion, or in the visitor's list kept at the hotels of some well known place frequented by tourists, or that of immortalizing the place itself by numerous inscriptions? When people read their names, when they utter them aloud, they think they are personally objects of general observation, and so their self-esteem is gratified.

Ireland. In Ireland, where the same feeling is perverted by superstition, people refuse to give their children the name of any of their parents who are still alive, lest their life should be Japan. shortened. In Japan, where it is carried to an extreme by the absoluteness of the sovereign's power, no child is allowed Athens. to bear the ruling monarch's name. In Athens, where that same feeling was dignified by a principle of gratitude, it led to the passing of a law, which enacted, that no slave should bear the name of either Aristogeiton or Harmodius, lest the memory of those brave champions of their country's liberty should be tarnished by any lower association. The same sentiment has, in all countries, made the choice of proper names a matter of serious importance, and inspired men with a desire that their names should be honoured; and not only so, but that they should be as much honoured as the bearers of them deserved to be. Common justice and the interests of society require this, and yet it does not satisfy our pride. Led on by the homage of those very persons who, to our certain knowledge, can form no right conceptions of our title to their respect, we are anxious that a name should be honoured and esteemed, without regard to the character, the moral conduct, or the talents of the man who bears it, and without his troubling himself to justify his claim to the honour and esteem awarded. Need we enumerate the serious

consequences which have resulted in all ages from such pretensions as these; what deeply rooted, and almost innate habits of vanity, arrogance, and injustice they have inevitably fostered where social institutions favoured them; what new crimes they have introduced into society, through a temptation, unlawfully to assume some time-honoured name; what denials of family ties and consecrated associations, what shameful compacts and scandalous dissensions, and what false words, and falser deeds, men have been guilty of, without remorse, and without a thought that they were acting dishonourably. The old thirst for riches and power has hardly given birth to so many crimes.

America.

This feeling of identity of name and person manifests itself in a purer and more civilized form among some of the tribes of America, and in the islands of the North Atlantic Ocean. There, a man exchanges names with the stranger whom he adopts as his friend; he takes the place of "*you*," as it were, and you take the place of "*him*;" this seems to me the most perfect idea of friendship that can be expressed.

Various results of the principle.

In ancient Rome the same feeling would insure the return of a candidate, if he could only name every person whose vote he happened to solicit. Among the Greeks, the height of flattery consisted in being able to address people by their proper name. Homer makes Priam address the Trojan chiefs in this way when he entreats them to let him fall at the feet of Achilles, and beg for the remains of Hector. Nicias joined the name of their father, and that of their tribe, to his own warriors' names, when he exhorted them to make a last effort, and try once more the fortune of arms, which seemed to have deserted their cause. This power in a name has not been without its influence, even

among a people who, in other respects, are but little civilized; the courage of the negroes in Guinea is not only revived by the notes of a martial strain, but in the midst of the fray, those who sound the horn can recall to the natives' minds the name of the chief whose men are failing, and so remind both leaders and soldiers of their duty, and their imperilled honour.

Curious instances.

The standing rule in the English House of Commons, and in the republican representative assembly of Geneva, does not allow that any member should be addressed by his proper name; the theory being, that the mention of the proper name is, beyond all other modes of address, a direct appeal to a man's self-esteem.

Accordingly, an offensive allusion to our name is all the more wounding to our pride. "The bridges are over the canals; the canals are older than the bridges;" such were the almost childish sayings which became war-cries to the Da Pontes and Canali in Venice. As the two families were constantly engaged in disputes about their respective merits and nobility, the allusion became all the more telling and galling, from the very fact which otherwise made it absurd, viz., the hereditary character of the title, and its being borne by every member of the family. The rancour of feeling rose to such a height, that the Venetian senate was compelled to secure the silence of the rival patricians, by reminding them of the allusion, and asserting *their own* right to lower the bridges, and fill up the canals.

Eastern despots, in all ages, have kept aloof from their subjects, from an idea that, by so doing, they increased the ordinary feeling of veneration and fear; the identity, therefore, of person and name will be equally hidden behind the

same veil of obscurity from those who are denied access to the sacred person of the monarch. In Siam, only the mandarins of the first rank were allowed to utter the king's name; all the rest of his subjects either did not really, or would have been afraid to appear to know it. The name of the Dairi, or emperor-priest, in Japan is only known to his own court attendants, and is not publicly announced until after his death; the names of the secular-emperor, and of the principal officers in the kingdom, are also kept as a species of state-secret. In 1777, a Chinese writer was charged with high treason, because he had published a book, in which the ordinary names of the Emperor Kien-Lung, and of the princes, his ancestors, were mentioned; it was in vain that he pleaded his intention to make these names known to the young, in order that they might avoid an inadvertent allusion to them; the laws which regulate the Chinese press sentenced him to death.

When flattery (far more frequently than truth) says of a prince that he is *the* Titus or *the* Trajan of his age, this form of speech arises from the intimate connection which exists between the name and the person, inasmuch as it expresses by one or other of these names all the qualities of the great man who originally bore it. The same may result from various causes; the Germans sometimes place the definite article before the proper name, but with them this mode of designation is limited to the lower ranks of society.* In a country where titles and rank are deemed to be of the highest importance, the equivalent forms to our Sir, Madam, Miss, are by no means matters of indifference; great hesitation would

* Wo ist mein bedienter der Georg? Literally, Where is my servant the George?

be felt lest too great an honour should be conferred by the addressing of such a title to an inferior; the definite article serves as a substitute, and is used to denote the sex which the name alone would not determine. In the days when these forms had not lost their meaning in France, a tradesman's wife was only recognized by her husband's name with the addition of the article in the feminine gender. Sixty years ago, the most talented women that graced the stage were known by no other title. Thanks to the progress of civilization this mode of speech has now become obsolete and vulgar except when it is used slightingly or in joke; it is only used now in distant provinces, and even there the custom is becoming more and more rare.

The same custom is also dying out in Germany. In Italy the use of the definite article is seldom heard in conversation except when allusion is made to some lady by her husband's name. The Tuscans, however, and in general all those who are remarkable for their correctness of speech, seldom omit it; and those writers who pride themselves on the purity of their style are of opinion (and it seems to me not without reason) that the use of the article in this case is an invariable rule of the language. Does this arise from the fact that neither gender nor number are expressed by the terminations, which are alike in both singular and plural in more than half the names in Italy? I think not; for the rule does not extend to the prænomen when used by itself, or when it precedes the family name, although in the case first cited it might have been deemed necessary. Moreover, it was in force at a time when the use of those modes of address which designate certain acknowledged distinctions were no less common than in our own days, and in republican countries, too, where the

influencing spirit of that peculiar form of government tended to merge all ranks and conditions into one class. We shall see hereafter that in Italy this rule was a consequence of the manner in which patronymic names were formed.

SECTION XI.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES FROM WHICH MEN'S NAMES HAVE BEEN DERIVED.

Derivation of names subject to no arbitrary rules.

If it be deemed strange that by a study of the derivation of proper names, and by an examination into the natural requirements of the modified habits of a people, we should be enabled to trace certain minute symptoms of progress and change in the ordinary course of events, which we might otherwise have been tempted to consider as purely arbitrary; it is no less singular to find that in some cases the rules which we should have been disposed to fancy were of universal application are utterly useless, and that there are bodies of men who live together in regular communities and yet have no proper names assigned to them. This is recorded by Herodotus, Pliny, and Solinus, of an African people; and the same, in Dampier's book entitled "A New Voyage Round the World," is said to be true of an American tribe, "somewhere near Honduras Bay." The Mosquitos, he adds, give themselves no names, and yet look upon it as a favour when they receive them from European travellers. How is it that although the ordinary course of events leads naturally to the introduction of names, and a positive need of them becomes more and more felt, these people have not been able to attach to themselves, what they require at the hands of strangers? An

inquiry into the moral inferiority which such an inability presupposes, and a passing remark on the number of ideas and feelings which in such beings must remain utterly dormant and inactive, will not be beyond the province of the observant philosopher. We shall be able to form our own conclusions as we review the chief sources from which men's names are derived.

Physical qualities.

The most natural way of distinguishing an individual, and the one which connects itself the most with the identity of name and person, is that of giving a name which shall remind others of his most striking peculiarities. But this mode of naming is only adapted to a people who have hardly reached the lowest point in the scale of civilization, and who, being but one degree removed from the condition of the senseless savages we have just mentioned, are still, like the inhabitants of Bornou, destitute of any other system of nomenclature. When the community increases, and its general intercourse becomes more frequent with other communities, and more complicated within itself, there are soon too many members to be described as tall or short, dark or light, etc.; an allusion, therefore, to these features is not sufficiently distinctive.

Acts, occupation, etc.

Remarkable deeds, occupations, tastes, habits, virtues, moral or physical defects, supply other names, which men are soon obliged to recognize and adopt. Some names will be derived from the position held in the family or the community; some from the dwelling-place itself, or the neighbourhood which makes it noticeable; some from a locality in which only a temporary stay may have been made; or some from places visited during a more protracted voyage.

Such are the channels in which proper names usually flow. But correct as these statements may be up to a certain

point, we shall see that they only hold good in a small number of instances, and that they can only apply to names so far as they belong to the adult members of a community. Wherever families exist, and their consequent rights, duties, cares, and affections, have assumed a definite form, it is the child that is named, the child who has no occupation, no fixed moral habits, no formed features,—nothing, in fact, in its external appearance to distinguish it from any other child;—in this case, we must search for the origin of the name in the feelings which actuated those who were present at and interested in the birth of the child.

These remarks only apply to adults.

We have already given an instance* of a name which, by its significance, recalled the sad disasters that were graven in the memory of a subjugated people. The name of Miriam, Moses' elder sister, expressed the bitterness of suffering which the Israelites were enduring at the time of her birth, while they were still under the Egyptian yoke;—the Rabbis add, that Miriam lived as many years as the bondage of her people lasted.

In the case of infants, there must be some other guiding principle.

A similar method of giving names will perpetuate the remembrance of events which are peculiar to a family. When the people of Achaia had left Pthiotis in order to settle in Argos, their chief, Archandrus, gave his son the name of Metanastes or Emigrant; while the Dorian chief, whose invasion of Attica brought about the devotion of Codrus for his country's good, was named Aletes or the Wanderer, reminding the people, through his name, of his father's distant travels, when forced to wander far and wide, an exile from his native home.

The name of a child is often regulated by the circumstances

* Vide supra, § 3.

Various instances.

that attend its birth. In the kingdom of Cambodia, the name of the day on which a child was born was frequently given. Among the Shangallas, when a child is born, its father gives it a name which is commonly indicative of some attendant circumstance of its birth;—Born-in-the-night, or Born-on-the-ground, or Born-during-the-preparation-of-the-bonza, etc.

The same thing may occur accidentally among other nations. For instance, if a woman while on a journey be suddenly taken in labour, and give birth to a child by the torrent side, the fact is sufficient to account for the name of "child of the torrent,"—a name borne by the second wife of Dagobert. Names of this kind will not fail to give currency to some wonderful legend, in which we can easily trace their derivation. If, with Bochard, we admit that the name of the grandson of Bocchoris, Tilgamus or Tilganus, means "child of the garden," we detect at once the origin of that fable of which Tilgamus is the hero, and which states, that when he was thrown from the top of a high tower by his grandfather's orders, an eagle caught him in his fall, supported him, and landed him gently in a garden.

Other names will express the good wishes formed for a child's happiness, or the lucky omens which foretell it. A mother, who for nine long months has borne her future offspring in her womb, and has only opened to it the gates of life amid racking pains which are sometimes the precursors of death, may surely be justified in expressing her first wishes and her first anticipations in the name she gives. We have many instances of such cases recorded in history, in which a mother exercises this sacred privilege, and the father most readily acquiesces. Sometimes, too, the name given by a mother may be altered by the father, because he is in search

of some more favourable omen. Rachel on her death-bed had called her child Benoni, son of my sorrow, Jacob named him Benjamin, son of my right hand or of power.

Too frequently, a father or mother may lose their children in their early days, one after another; but if a child be born to them again, their tears will be dried up, and, doubly a prey to superstition because of their past anxieties and sorrows, those same parents will be easily persuaded to select a name which shall be intended to save their child from a malignant and destructive influence. Among the negroes on the coast of Guinea, the priests enjoin that the name of the bird Jouwa should be given, because they attribute to its baneful influence all those losses which parents have to deplore. Among the Esthonians an idea is current, that if they give the name of Adam or Eve to a newly-born child, it will be the earnest of a happy old age.

That religious element which adds confidence to our hopes and energy to our desires, delights in placing the object of those desires under the immediate protection of some deity; the name therefore given to a child will be that of some tutelary God, or of some human being whose excellences have secured to him admission into the heavenly regions. It will in like manner express, that the child's birth is due to the good will of that beneficent spirit or being, and that during its whole existence the child will be its devotee and worshipper. Cases of this kind are of too frequent occurrence to need any especial notice, were it not that a tribe of Albanians, who were settled in Elis, in the district of Floka, furnish us with a singular instance, which we cannot omit to notice. These men (whose religious notions were not based on any settled creed, and therefore had no influence on their moral

conduct) had adopted Islamism instead of Christianity, and yet, thanks to the form of worship which their ancestors had professed, they used frequently to join together names held sacred by both. Such designations, therefore, as Ali-John, Aïsche-Mary, Mustapha-Constantine, Fatima-Catherine, strike a traveller with surprise as he journeys along the banks of the Alpheus.

Religious names, which were common in ancient times, were not always unchangeable. Hector called his son Scamandrius, after the name of the river which was the bulwark and protection of Troy. The Trojans named him Astyanax, or prince of the city. In a court where their aged monarch numbered fifty sons, their gratitude took singular delight in designating as the future occupant of Priam's throne, the son of their own hero, of him who was the sure defence of Ilion. A vain precaution, which providence was pleased to thwart, and which only served, perhaps, to hasten the untimely death of Astyanax.

These sudden changes of fortune need suggest no alarm when the choice of a name is merely guided by remembrance or example. The most inveterate opponents of prejudice will hardly find fault with the forethought and expectations of a father, if he give his son the name of Marcus Aurelius, whether that son be destined to sit on a throne or to live in the humblest of conditions, if he fail not to remind him as soon as he can understand, "My son, it is not your father, a man full of infirmities and imperfections, whose example you must follow; let your name, every time you hear it, remind you of the duty of walking in the steps of the most virtuous of men, whatever position in life you may be destined to occupy."

What true reverential feeling may dictate, friendship may

suggest, and a name which is borne by my friend as well as by my child will remind me of qualities which have been endeared to me in the one case, and of which I hope to be proud at some future time, in the other. Natural affection will enjoy the same privileges, and will obviate any necessity for seeking other patterns of conduct for our children than those which are furnished by various members of the domestic circle. One will be named after some ancestor or nearer relation whose character, during his lifetime, secured the love and esteem of his family. This custom is so natural that it may be traced amongst the wildest as well as amongst the most civilized of nations; it was common in Greece—was observed among the Caribbees, and still exists in Kamschatka.

Flattery, which reaches alike the lowest ranks of society and the foot of the throne, has taken a further step, so that a child receives the name of some living person who feels honoured by the act, and whose excellent qualities may serve for immediate example, without the further consecration of death.

Again, chance, to which men are in so many ways prone to trust, has often determined the giving of a name. Among the Koriakes, fate, which is consulted with various superstitious pieces of jugglery, decides which of the parents' names shall be given to a child. Some of the Tartar tribes give their children the name of the first person they meet six months exactly after the child's birth, because they are persuaded that chance will make a better selection than their own. Other tribes on the coast of Guinea give their children appellations derived from words, or the words themselves, as being the names which are most like the first cries they uttered. Among the Hebrews, the name was frequently selected from the first

words that were spoken, either by the father or by any other person who happened to be present at the birth of the child. People thought then that there was something supernatural in those inarticulate cries, or something wonderfully prophetic in those first words, which might influence the whole of the child's career. Among the Persians the giving of names is a religious ceremony at which a Mollah was obliged to be present. The father used to write five names on as many separate pieces of paper, and placed them on a copy of the Koran, or on a carpet. The first chapter of the Koran was then read, and one of the names drawn by chance; the one first produced was to be the child's name.

We can hardly believe in these days that a like superstition existed among enlightened Christians. And yet St. Chrysostom condemns the practice (still prevalent in his time) of lighting a number of candles and affixing to each a different name, and then of giving to a new-born child, as an earnest of long life, the name which was fastened to the candle that had been extinguished last. His censure, however, was unavailing. In the thirteenth century the Emperor Andronicus publicly availed himself of the same means to determine which of the twelve Apostles' names his daughter should bear—the lot fell upon the name of Simon, and she was called Simonides.

SECTION XII.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES PRACTISED AT THE GIVING OF NAMES.

Various religious forms practised at the giving of names

RELIGIOUS rites are mixed up with the giving of names, just as religious feelings dictate or suggest their choice; this seems to be a necessary result of the importance which is everywhere

attached to the matter. In the days of Aristotle, the Greeks did not give any child a name until it was seven days old; not so much, probably, because they fancied they could not calculate safely until then upon the child's life, as because a mystic idea was involved in the number seven itself. The same reverential feeling had divided life into seven periods, which corresponded with the seven days of the week; their not naming the child until the seventh day, furnished a sort of prophecy that it would live through all the seven ages which make the longest existence complete. Among the ancient Greeks.

The Christian religion hallows the act of naming a child by its accompanying rite of the sacrament of regeneration which removes the stain of original guilt from the child's brow. Among the Reformers, whose aim it was to restore our creeds to primitive simplicity and purity, and to rid them of all external forms, the Quakers rank the first,* and they accordingly make a point of naming their children without any ceremony whatever. The Christian rule.

The Parsees purify a newly-born child with religiously appointed ablutions, and make it taste of the consecrated distillations of the Hom, after which they give it a name. In Gujerat the naming of a child does not take place till the fifth or sixth month after its birth; it is also followed by prayer and various other religious ceremonies. The Parsees custom.

In Tibet, and among the Mongols who are separatists from Lamaism, the child is washed from head to foot, prayers are said over it, and two names are given, the one by the priest, Tibet. The Mongols.

* Some allowance must be made here for the little a French *philosopher* would know of the state of religious parties in Protestant countries. They would only come under his notice so far as they were represented by the prominent literature of the day.—(*Tr.'s Note.*)

which in Tibet is invariably that of some local saint or deity, and is only used at religious ceremonies; the other is the name by which the child is known in ordinary life, and is chosen by one of the members of the family.

North American tribes.

I must repeat here what I have said before, viz., that all these customs originate in a sentiment which is common to most men, and that there are few countries where we cannot trace them. The Nadoessians, who are aborigines of North America, use great ceremony in giving a name to an adult, considering it as a solemn announcement of his having emerged from the state of childhood; and such is the importance of these customs, that they are enveloped in the most perfect mystery and religiously concealed from the observation of Europeans. In the Brazils, too, it has been noticed that the day on which a child is named is celebrated by religious dances.

SECTION XIII.

ON SURNAMES, MORE ESPECIALLY THOSE GIVEN BY COMMON CONSENT.

Proper names too few for those who required them.

HOWEVER various the circumstances may seem which lead to the invention of proper names, their results are notwithstanding very limited in comparison with the number of persons who require names. Good wishes inspired by religious sentiments or paternal feeling; remembrances, be they suggested by family or by national associations, must soon end in a similarity of names when confined within the narrow limits of a single language; chance itself works in a very limited sphere, for the cries of children or the first words their

appearance may suggest, begin to occur as frequently as physical advantages or deformities do in children, and moral qualities in adults.

Hence a new difficulty arises. What shall be done to effect a distinction between two persons who bear the same name? How were persons to be distinguished?

A contract of sale, which was ingeniously deciphered by M. A. Bôckh, shews us that in Egypt, 104 years before our era, as perhaps had been the case for many ages, the contracting parties were not only described in the deeds by their own names, but by a detailed description of their physical peculiarities. We may fairly conclude from this, then, that names were too few in number to distinguish every individual accurately. No doubt the names of women were fewer still, and only referred to qualities which were common to many, for in the deed already quoted two sisters are mentioned, and a surname is added to the name of each without prejudice to the personal description; as it is the same in both cases, I imagine it to be the father's name. A surname joined to a name; this is the very kind of distinction that was required. And granting that the invention of the one, flowing as it does from the same spring as the other, be equally limited, and that a surname may belong to more than one individual, such are the capabilities of the double combination, that the same name will rarely be found joined to the same surname in two different persons. By surname joined to a name.

The simplest and the most natural surname is that which we find among all people who, unlike ourselves, have no family names, and which is formed by the union of the son's name with his father's, whether that name really express descent, as among the Hebrews, or whether it leave the Simplest form.

descent to be understood as among the Greeks, Alexander of Philip, or Alexander the son of Philip (Alexander Philippi).

Various instances.

A mother's name, that of a parent, or of some remoter ancestor more illustrious than the father, have in the same way been used to form new names. A like attention has been paid to sentiments of friendship and gratitude; Eusebius of Cæsarea adopted the name of his friend, (Eusebius Pamphili); and the saintly Pietro Damiani had chosen his name (Petrus Damiani) from that of his elder brother, who in his distress had been a father to him.

Sometimes the wife's name became the husband's surname, an excellent invention and felicitously symbolical of that intimate relationship which of two existences should make only one.

The name of the tribe or people to which a man belonged might also become a surname; often too, the name of the father was introduced as well, sometimes from a feeling of national pride, sometimes because the new appellation was absolutely required to prevent confusion.

If any particular name describe the locality of a man's residence or property, it may serve the same purpose. In the west of Tibet, all the houses of the principal inhabitants have names which are equally applicable to their owners, and which ultimately become the name by which they are addressed more frequently than by their own.

Personal acts and qualities have given rise to a great variety of surnames. Two tribunes in the Roman army bore the name of Aurelian, but the courageous daring and intrepid courting of fresh dangers in the one, gained for him the surname of Hand-on-sword (Manu-ad-ferrum), as it once again afterwards won for him a title to the throne.

The surname of an eminent character often becomes inseparable from his individual name. The sacred books of the Parsees make frequent mention of Zoroaster, surnaming him Sapetman. The learned Anquetil thinks (and it would seem with reason) that this surname, which is derived from Sapetmé, excellent, and which serves to distinguish the prophet from all Zoroasters past or to come, was not borrowed from any of his ancestors, but was assigned to him by that feeling of veneration in which he was universally held.

Achilles, swift of foot; the pious Æneas, etc., were pleasant sounds among the ancients in the songs of their poets, but the constant repetition of these epithets is wearisome to our altered and more fastidious taste. Accustomed as we are to fixed family names which render the continuance of surnames more and more doubtful, we are apt to forget that they formed an essential part of the proper name in earlier days, and that the poet would have been false to the traditions of his country if he had omitted them. Surnames, therefore, such as these and others which we still use without translating them (Neoptolemus for instance, a name given to the son of Achilles, and Alexander, the name given to Paris by the grateful shepherds of Mount Ida), must also be classed under those indispensable distinctions which may be noticed in all places where individual names only are found to prevail.

All feelings which proceed from common intercourse between man and man in society, have contributed to the invention of names; friendship and intimacy have introduced a great number into the inner domestic circle; diminutives, as applied symbolically to the interesting incapacities of children, have often been used to express a mixed feeling of that tenderness and superiority which exist in parents, but such names

should not be suffered to pass current beyond the threshold of the family circle, for they become absurd when viewed by one who is a stranger to the sentiments by which they were originated.

Public surnames.

The case is different with all surnames given by common consent; we may frequently be proud of hearing them everywhere quoted; more frequently still we may have to bear them with resignation, or to boast of having given them open contradiction. The latter was the course adopted by many men of distinction in Rome, when some accidental circumstance had undeservedly saddled them with an ignominious title, as, for instance, Calpurnius Bestia (the wild beast), and Scipio Asina (the female ass). More than once the general estimation in which these men were held vindicated their depreciatory titles, and assigned to them some nobler origin. In the Fabian family, one of whose members had been surnamed Buteo, the name was attempted to be made illustrious by a pretended story, that a bird of good omen had alighted on a ship in which a Fabius was sailing, and that the surname had thus been suggested. We read also that, once upon a time, Marcus Valerius was engaged in single combat and received material assistance from the interference of a crow or raven, and hence was surnamed Corvus or Corvinus; the story is said to have originated in the fact that Valerius wore the figure of a crow or raven upon his helmet. This is most unlikely, for, in the first place, Roman helmets were very simple in their construction during the period when Corvinus distinguished himself; and in the second place, there was no ornament on the helmet but the crest, and this belonged exclusively to the Roman generals, and enabled their followers to recognize them in battle; it must have been worn therefore in obedience to certain customary rules, and can have admitted of no arbitrary

personal choice. It is more likely that the wonderful story was invented in order to explain away some probably uncomplimentary name which Valerius had already received, but which his future career induced his countrymen to forget.

Notwithstanding the justice which is eventually done by public opinion to the bearers of these derogatory surnames, the power which that same public opinion seemed to arrogate to itself is highly revolting, and in our present state of society, would be rightly deemed most mischievous. Let us look, however, impartially at the matter, and compare it with the customs (or the abuses, if you like to term them so), which we should reprobate still more, and which were exhibited by the abusive licentiousness of comedy in Greece. It was a licentiousness pre-eminently peculiar to the democracy of Athens. Let me ask, who reformed these abuses? I answer, the victorious Spartans, who, in order to subdue the Athenians more completely, substituted for the restless, turbulent, yet patriotic power of the people, an aristocracy whose members (they felt persuaded) would submit to any foreign yoke, provided it secured them tyrannic power over their own fellow-citizens. And farther, by whom was this reform continued, and with even greater severity? By a despotic conqueror, who insisted upon the banishment of Demosthenes, and every champion of the people's cause. The giving of surnames was in the same way common in the mixed aristocratic and democratic periods of Rome, and such instances prove how the most apparently trivial customs link themselves in with the general progress of civilization. What at first seemed to be the mere echo of a meaningless piece of gossip, is at last recognized as the voice of public opinion which punishes matters that the law cannot reach, and which (and in this it

is superior to the law) can also award rich recompense. A desire has often been felt to acknowledge in some tangible way the humbler qualities which diffuse an atmosphere of happiness around the domestic circle, qualities which are an honour and a support to the public well-being. In this respect, the custom which we are now investigating, supplied in Rome the deficiency which the law clearly manifested. The young man who day by day was seen to guide and support a blind and aged parent on his way to the Forum, was surnamed Scipio,* a name therefore which was consecrated by filial affection before it was immortalized by military prowess. C. Gracchus, when he had ascended the tribune, and summoned L. Piso to his presence, was compelled to address him as Piso the worthy (Frugi). Pensions, orders, titles, were small things in comparison with the laudatory surname which was admitted to be a just one by an enemy; and it was, moreover, a surname awarded by public opinion, "in those fortunate days when not a dishonest man could be found."†

The services of statesmen were not less nobly rewarded. The surname of Maximus was given to Q. Fabius, who, when engaged in restoring the constitution of the centuries, watched over the rights of the people, and prevented their falling into the hands of men of no family, who were simply the clients of an effete aristocracy, or the satellites of a factious leader. L. Villius, the tribune, was surnamed Annalis, because he had passed a law which fixed the various ages a man must have reached before he could successively occupy the higher

* Scipio, the name given to a staff on which an old man leant, and with which a blind man guided his steps.

† Cic. Orat. pro Fonteio, xiii. "Illis optimis temporibus, quum hominem invenire nequam neminem posses."

posts of the magistracy. The chain of gold torn by T. Manlius from the neck of the Gaul whom he had slain in single combat, won for him the surname of Torquatus. The conquest of Fidenæ suggested the surname of Fidenas for Lucius Sergius, while that of Messala was given to Valerius in memory of his capture of Messana. Statues and trophies have been cut down by the scythe of old father Time, but the surnames of Africanus and Asiaticus won by deeds of valour, will live through many a future age.

Great influence of surnames.

Such was the advantage of surnames, that to justly acquired fame they were a defence against the odium incurred by subsequent crimes. Later decrees may have obliterated from the public records the names of the guilty, and destroyed their statues, but the surnames of Capitolinus and Coriolanus survive, and still remind us of the warrior who saved the Capitol, and of him who decided the fate of Corioli by his extraordinary bravery. It falls to the province of history to tell us that in later times they were both traitors to their country; the one by endeavouring through a state of anarchy to pave his own way to sovereign power; the other by betraying his country to strangers, to avenge himself against the people of Rome, who, in spite of the famine to which they were a prey, refused to yield to the tyrannic rule of a proud aristocracy. So long as surnames retained their value, neither law nor public opinion could make them hereditary. On the contrary, in modern times, when we confer upon a hero the name of the scene of his exploits, we usually make that mark of honour a transmissible right, so deeply are we still imbued with the feudal principle. So it happens that children who are perhaps never destined to see the country whose conquest is recorded by an illustrious surname, receive

that surname from their father as a common inheritance. We forget that fame is personal nobility and not hereditary rank.

Asiaticus, Bythinicus, etc., are surnames which in the time of the Emperors were borne by persons utterly unknown for anything they had done. They had been given in consequence of some momentary whim, from the day of birth perhaps, or from the name of the usual dwelling-place, and had lost all real significant meaning. But they were no doubt purposely encouraged by that system of policy whose only aim it was to destroy all the old and noble associations connected with the commonwealth, in anticipation of their complete removal by the ordinary influences of time. The senseless Caligula issued an order that the descendants of Pompey should be restrained from assuming the surname of Magnus; yet they resumed it in the following reign; had he conferred it on others instead of forbidding its use, he would have destroyed its value. This was the plan adopted by Augustus at the celebration of the games. When C. Nonius Asprenas had been thrown from his horse, the emperor soothed his mortified pride by the gift of a gold chain, and the right of assuming the title of Torquatus and transmitting it to his heirs.

In the earlier part of his reign Claudius authorized Gabinius, the conqueror of the Cauci, to take the surname of Caucicus. This noble recompense had less effect than the gift of Augustus; the name Caucicus has no place in the national annals; it may be that a feeling of prudence or previously established customs induced Gabinius to forego the honour. The Roman generals were only lieutenants in the Emperor's service, and consequently all surnames that were suggested by memorable victories and that might eventually

become lasting monuments of his reign, were reserved for him. It was a very rare occurrence when he condescended to associate the names of the nearest princes to the throne with his own.

Surnames like these, when they were really merited, could not be offensive to a vanquished people; they merely proved that a victory had been deemed an important event and one worthy of extraordinary recompense. Claudius had right on his side when he gave his son the surname of Britannicus. It was a memorial of that famous expedition which, at the same time that it established the Roman dominion in Britain, seemed to foreshadow for the young prince, then only twelve years old, the possession of a vaster empire than that of Augustus and Tiberius. Neither can we find fault with the custom, which was a common one, among the Sassanidæ, viz., that of adding to their sons' names a surname which indicated the countries they had conquered, and over which those sons might one day rule, thanks to their parents' victories. But the usurpation of such titles was common among the emperors of Rome and Byzantium, even after positive defeats. How indignant must those people have felt who were stung by the falsehood of a title which was intended to mislead future ages, and to become a standing witness of their own imaginary disgrace. Justinian in his decrees used wantonly and shamelessly to assume the titles of Franciscus, Gepidicus, Allemanicus, and Lombardicus. And accordingly when Theodebert, King of the Franks, invited the Gepidæ, the Allemanni, and the Lombards to join him in an alliance against the aggressions of the Grecian emperor, he reminded them of this bitter insult, and besought them to avenge it.

SECTION XIV.

NAMES AND SURNAMES OF THE HEBREWS.

Detailed examination of names.

FROM these general remarks it is now time that we should pass on to particular instances founded upon historical facts. The nation's history which suggests itself first to our minds is that which we delighted to study in the earliest days of child-

Hebrews.

hood. Among the Hebrews, the son often received the name of an ancestor or of a parent; oftener still, as I have already remarked, his name was derived from some circumstance which had either been cotemporaneous with or antecedent to his birth, or suggested by some expression uttered by the father or by another person about the same time. It seems also to be admitted that an abuse of this custom had crept into many families, and that every relative claimed the right to name a child according to his or her own fancy. The deliverer of the Jews was indebted for his name of Moses to the daughter of Pharoah who had "drawn" him from the waters; but if we are to believe the Rabbinical accounts he could boast of seven other names. In order to obtain from heaven the miracles which this child was destined to work and which Miriam had prophesied, his father had *returned* to his wife's tent after an absence of three years, an absence caused by the fear of the seemingly certain death with which all Hebrew children were threatened. Though supposed to be a hired servant, his mother succeeded in eluding her persecutors, and *nursed him with a mother's milk;* his sister had not forgotten the feelings of anxiety with which she *went down* to the banks of the Nile to see what would become of the child who had been exposed there. A *reunion* between their common mother Jochabed and

her husband is the event which made Aaron love Moses most. His nurse reminded all of *that gloomy place of refuge* which for three months had hidden him from the persecuting fury of the Egyptians; his grandfather Kohath declared that, from the day of his birth, the Lord had *closed the abyss* which lay open beneath the feet of the Hebrews, for he had caused it to be forbidden that their children should be thrown into the Nile. The moment the child was born, said the people of Israel, the Lord in his mercy *heard the cry* of his people. In the various names they gave him, they all manifested a wish to perpetuate a remembrance of some affectionate or devotional feeling.*

Rabbinical refinements.

In this particular instance, the Rabbis may have been guilty of some little addition to the truth, in order to give greater importance to the number *seven*, so celebrated in all those mystic inquiries on which the science of astrology is based. But that a plurality of names did exist among the Hebrews, and that these names were given in virtue of some such reasons as those we have mentioned, is an acknowledged fact. This may explain how persons who must be the same, bear, nevertheless, different names in history.

* The following are the seven names, in the order I have mentioned them above, with a view to explain their derivation:—Chabar, Jecothiel, Jared, Abi-Zannach, Abisuco, Abigedur, Schemaiah; to the last name the Hebrews used to join the surname, Son of Nathanael. Did they intend, then, to change the name of Amram, the father of Moses? Nothing leads us to such an inference. By a figure of speech which is characteristic of the spirit of the language, and which we may see instanced in one of the gospels (St. Mark iii. 17), where our Lord gives the sons of Zebedee the surname of Boanerges, or Sons of Thunder, the Hebrews meant to intimate that the child to whose birth they had been looking forward, was born by the special goodness of God, "a gift"—Nathanael, donum Dei.

Hebrew names significant

We have already remarked that all Hebrew names were significant. It does not fall within the limits of my subject to point out the various abuses of which writers have been guilty in their interpretation of proper names, when their object has been to make a proper name agree with certain events which may have marked the life of the man who bore it, and who, from that very fact, have succeeded in giving to history an appearance of romance. I cannot, however, omit to mention the opinion of the learned but too credulous Gaffarel, who, by a certain line of argument, and by various quotations well worthy of careful perusal, has sought to establish that Jacob's seventh son was named Gad, not so much because of the gladness which Leah felt at his birth, as on account of the name of the planet Jupiter, under whose influence he had been born. This resembles the worship of the star Remphan by the wandering Hebrews in the wilderness, and is evidently a remnant of Tsabaism, or of that worship of the hosts of heaven which was the religion of Abraham's ancestors, and the one to which his descendants more than once returned.

Genealogies.

The religious care with which the Hebrews perpetuated the remembrance of their forefathers in their respective families, by an accurate enumeration of all the intervening generations between themselves and the original head of the tribe, prevented their liability to any of those inconveniences which ordinarily result from too limited a number of proper names. Still, as we read their history, the inconvenience soon becomes apparent, and, wearied by a constant recurrence of the same names employed to designate different characters, the reader experiences a feeling of perplexity, and runs the risk of losing the thread of the narrative, if he does not

carefully remember the dates at which the various events occurred, and the several generations in the progressive history of the tribes.

Surnames which, had they been used, would have set aside all possibility of confusion, were rarely adopted by the Hebrews. The addition of the father's name to that of the son was deemed sufficient, as David, the son of Jesse; Zacharias, son of Barachias. As an exception to this rule I may mention Judas Iscariot, and Joseph, surnamed by the apostles Barnabas, or the son of consolation. The Hebrews, after their dispersion, had sometimes three names; the fact, at least, is recorded by Philo, but very few instances have come under my own immediate notice. Surnames rarely used.

Not a single case occurs in the Old Testament history, so far as I know, in which the names of either Abraham, or Isaac, or Aaron are revived; nor even that of Moses, a prophet like unto whom none should again be raised in Israel. It was in the heart of Christian Europe, and perhaps in imitation of the practices of a rival creed, that the Hebrews began to give these once sacred names to their children. So it has happened that what would formerly have been considered an act of excessive presumption, is now the expression of a religious and reverential sentiment.

A progressive advance in the complication of our social institutions has worked another change in the names which were formerly commonly used among the Hebrews. The governments of various nations have granted to them the rights and privileges of citizenship, but have added to this act of justice a requirement which is equally just, viz., that they should adopt fixed family names, and so range themselves under the same category with the other members of the pro- Modern institutions have introduced the system of family names amongst them.

tecting state. In other countries the majority of the Israelitish merchants had of their own accord adopted family names; many may still be found in a list of the principal traders of Smyrna, though they were for a time victims to the impostures of Sabathaï Sevi.*

SECTION XV.

NAMES AMONG THE ARABS.

Why genealogies were carefully preserved by the Arabs.

It was not only a feeling of affection, but one also of pride, which led the Arabs to observe the most minute accuracy in their genealogical records from the very earliest periods. In the midst of frequently detached tribes, whose populations were never very numerous, individual names seem to have sufficed to satisfy all social requirements, although those names had been reduced in number by the religious feeling which induced them to prefer the names of persons remarkable for the peculiar sanctity of their life. From an anxiety, however, to leave behind them a name that should be recorded in the annals of posterity, the Arabs have always added to their own name (in order to make it distinctive) that of their father or their grandfather. Paternal pride frequently supplied them with new names, as, for instance, Abou-Thaleb or Abou-Ali,

* Sabathaï Sevi, born in Smyrna in 1625, was the son of a ship-broker, and pretended that he was the Messiah. After travelling in Turkey and in Europe, he went in the year 1665 to Jerusalem, where he formed an acquaintance with a Jew named Nathan, who acknowledged him publicly as the Messiah, and who claimed for himself the title of forerunner. He had almost succeeded in deluding a vast number of followers, when he was imprisoned. When brought to trial, he confessed his deceit; and to escape punishment embraced Islamism. He became an object of derision, and died without a friend in 1676.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

the father of Ali or the father of Thaleb.* The father of Mahomet's most cherished wife was only known in after years to his fellow-countrymen and is mentioned in history by a title suggested by the illustrious alliance itself, viz., Abou-bekr, the father of the young virgin. A very common feeling of affection for the prophet's favourite animal won for one of his earliest companions the surname of Abou-hareïra, "father of the cat." The surname, Lion of God, Assad-Allah, was given by Mahomet to his uncle Amzah, the first who fought under the standard of Islamism.

The same man had sometimes many names.

Occupation, birthplace, devotional feeling, personal advantages, or the contrary, frequently originated surnames. Often the same individual had several names; for as descent or paternal relationship might possibly suggest the same names, and the native country might be the same, some accident or peculiar characteristic led to the adoption of a third or even a fourth surname. That which necessity introduced, a fanciful taste confirmed, and it is accordingly no uncommon occurrence to meet with an Arab who can boast of four or even more surnames.

Names not always flattering.

As a people the Arabs were originally free, living under patriarchal rule, and in independent tribes; they were only united into one national body, and subjected to a despotic government by a religion which taught them that all men were equal in the sight of God. Consequently, the names which were given by common consent, even to those who held the highest offices, were not always flattering, and a habit of alluding to

* The Caribs of the Antilles never uttered the name of a person in his presence; they generally addressed him in preference by the name of his child, calling him "the father of so and so,"—or if they were addressing a woman, "the mother of so and so."—(Rochefort, Natural History of the Antilles, 4to, Amsterdam, 1658, p. 396.)

character did not always respect names prompted by adulation and pride. When the Caliph Amin issued a decree that his son (then only five years old) should be proclaimed as his successor, and gave him the name of Wathek-Billah—"speaking by the inspiration of God;" the feeling of contempt in which the father was held suggested the derisive surname of Natha-Billah—"he who by the grace of God begins to speak." Forgetting that ridicule is dangerous alike to the highest and the lowest in the social scale, Motovakkel, the tenth of the Abasside Caliphs, was pleased to change the name of his eldest son, Montasser, "the victorious," into Montaser or Montadher, "the expectant," alluding to the supposed impatience of the young man to succeed him in the sovereign power; an event which the imprudence and cruelties of Motovakkel, and his bad treatment of his son, had not succeeded in bringing about, was hastened by this frequently repeated insult. The Caliph fell, murdered by an assassin, whose crime had either been instigated or connived at by his son, who, when he ascended the throne, pleaded the taunts of his father in justification of his parricidal act.

SECTION XVI.

NAMES OF WOMEN AMONG THE HEBREWS AND ARABS.

Same name in some cases common to both men and women.

THE observations which we have made on the personal names of the Hebrews and Arabs are equally applicable to the two sexes. Some of these names were common to both; the maternal grandfather of the Christ bore the name of the high-priest who sentenced him to death; and Joanna became a disciple shortly after the time when the forerunner had

made the name of Johannes or John venerable throughout Judæa.

The name of the first representative of the Abasside dynasty was revived in one of the most illustrious of his female descendants, the sister of the Caliph Haroun, Abassa, the wife of Djafar, who, like her husband, was punished (though more severely perhaps, for she survived him) for an act of disobedience which their mutual love justified, and their marriage rendered legitimate.

Haroun the Caliph, who gave his sister in marriage to his favourite, and required of two young wedded lovers that they should live apart from each other, who subsequently banished his sister from his kingdom, and reduced her to the most abject poverty, because there had been a clandestine breach of his senseless command; who sentenced the father and three brothers of Djafar to death, and caused the wretched man himself to be executed in his presence, bore the surname of Al-Raschid, the upright or the just, and had received that title as much perhaps from the common voice of the people as from the flattery of his courtiers. The remark I have just made, which is by no means foreign to our subject, is more likely to give a correct idea of the manners and customs of that age, and of the nature of a despotic government, than a multitude of historic details.

Descriptive in character.

The names which are peculiar to Arab and Israelitish women used to commemorate their qualities or their supposed perfections. The name of Jacob's first wife expresses *a love of work*, and Naomi's *the splendour of beauty*. Susannah is a *bright flower*, and Keturah *diffuses aromatic odours* around her. The three daughters of Job, whose birth amply compensated him for his past sufferings, received from their father the

names of "the Day," "Exquisite perfume," and "horn of dye," * because, "in all the land were found no women so fair as the daughters of Job." The third name being that of the dye, without which not even the most beautiful woman in the East would feel confidence in the attractiveness of her charms.

Hebrew and Arab women had only one name.

There is nothing in either country to indicate that the women had more than one name each. Destined as they were to be given in marriage, an event which identified them with their husband's family, and separated them entirely from their own, the use of a proper name, which, from long habit, or from natural relationship, had become common in the one

* Job, chap. xlii., v. 14, 15. Jemima, Kezia (Vulgate, Cassia), and Keren-happuch. The last name is explained by Suidas (article Job) by the word Amalthœa, taken no doubt in the sense of Horn of plenty. St. Gregory the Great thought it referred to an instrument of music. The original word is, I think, correctly translated in the Vulgate, as Cornustibii, "the horn of the Surmeh," or the vessel in which they used to keep the paint made from antimony, with which Egyptian and Arabian women stain the inside of their eyelids to this day, in order to enhance the brightness of their eyes, and which in the Bible is always called Stibium. The word "*happuch*," also, sometimes means a precious stone, a carbuncle; and Keren is connected by sound with a verb which signifies splendour or dazzling light—a double allusion, founded upon both the second and first meanings, would be quite consistent with the genius of Eastern languages.

Patrick's comment on the passage alluded to in the book of Job is to the point; on verse 14th he says, "and to preserve the memory of so marvellous a deliverance (of which they were so many living monuments), he called the name of the first Jemima, that is, *the Day*, because of the felicity wherein he now shone, after a sad night of affliction, wherein he had lain; and the second Kezia (a spice of an excellent smell), because God had healed his filthy stinking ulcers, which made even his wife refuse to come near him; and the last he called Keren-happuch, *i.e.*, plenty restored, or a horn of varnish, because God had wiped away the tears which fouled his face."—(*Tr's Note.*)

family, caused no confusion in the other. And further, as it was the custom in both countries that the women should live in strict seclusion, it would seldom occur that history was called upon to record their existence, and it certainly could not be said to be in any way affected, on the score of accuracy, by the limited number of women's names, and the total absence of their surnames.

Names given by lovers to their mistresses.

It is curious to observe that a nation remarkable for the susceptibility of their feelings, especially towards those who are considered as the source of our tenderest emotions, should sometimes have refused to yield to the natural desire of giving a name to the object of their affection indicative of the passion inspired. On the contrary, a woman sometimes received from her lover, not a surname, but an entirely new name, which caused the proper one to be forgotten, as though her admirer had been the first to appreciate her fully. Many instances of these titles of affection must have been buried in oblivion in the private harems of the country, but its monarchs have frequently exhibited their ruling passion to the respect of their subjects.

The most remarkable instance perhaps is that of the eccentric Motavakkel, who gave his wife the name of "Ugly" or Cabihat, though she was a most beautiful woman, his great delight being to see the substantial contradiction of so odious a title in her dazzling charms.

Mher-ul-Niça (the tallest of women) was married to the Mogul Emperor Djihanguyr, who had murdered her first husband in order to obtain her himself. By this prince she was first named Nourmahhal, light of the Harem, but as he found the name inadequate to the expression of his feelings, the amorous monarch substituted for it the title Nour Djihan

light of the world, a name which seemed to be justified by the superior wisdom of the sultana no less than by her many graces and the perfections of her beauty.

We should probably find traces of similar customs in all the countries of the East where Islamism is professed, we have given the history of their names in our account of the Mussulmans of Arabia.

SECTION XVII.

TURKISH AND PERSIAN NAMES.

Sources from which Turkish names are derived.

In the Ottoman Empire, the only distinctive titles which are used equally by the poorest beggar and the greatest Vizier, consist of a personal name which embodies a pious sentiment, or contains a covert allusion to the name of the prophet, or of some saintly character and courageous hero celebrated in the annals of their country. Or they may bear a surname which will probably be derived from the place of their birth, or from habits more or less characteristic, but more frequently still from some bodily deformity; so that one-eyed, limping, hunchbacked, are names which may commonly be seen as the ordinary address of a letter. What more than this can be needed in a country where the two men who are now at the opposite extremes of the social scale may suddenly be forced to exchange places in the threefold matter of power, riches, and public esteem, by a single word from the sultan.

The remembrance of a contingency like this which has more than once been realized, and the feeling of resignation which the Turks are trained to by the fatalism of their creed, are among the principal reasons why their most exalted characters condescend to retain a name which reminds them

of the obscure hamlet where they were born, or of the occupation (a degrading one it may be in our eyes), from which they have been raised to the highest pinnacle of Turkish greatness. History will record the name of the Vizier who suffered Peter the Great to escape when that monarch was hemmed in on the banks of the Pruth and it seemed impossible that he could avoid falling a sacrifice to the vengeance of Charles the Twelfth and the security of the Ottoman Empire. By that day's events, we shall be told, Mehemet Baltagi decided the future destinies of Europe and Asia, and laid the foundation of those new tendencies which, even after the lapse of a century, are far from being fully developed. The surname of the man whose carelessness or whose treachery had so much influence upon the present and the future, was derived from the axe (balta) with which, when a slave, he used to cleave the wood which was to be used as fuel in the Sultan's palace. Then again Ali-Koumourgi,* who was all powerful with Ahmed III., and effected the ruin and disgrace of Mehemet, was the son of a poor man who carried coals, and took his name from the occupation of his father; he shortly afterwards succeeded Mehemet in the Vizier's office, and fell in battle at Peterwardein, contributing by his death to the greater glory of Prince Eugene's victorious exploit.

Though raised in social position, the Turks retain the name which reminds them of their humble origin.

The Persians who are followers of Ali adopt more frequently than the Turks the names of the children and disciples of one whom they consider to be the only legitimate successor of Mahomet. Their romances are full of significant names,† fiction having followed in the wake of reality. As most

Persian names are generally significant.

* *Koumour*, coal.

† *Fareksavar*, Intrepid Knight; *Khoudaïdad*, God-given, equivalent to Deodatus; *Beh-rouze*, beautiful day. Baktiar-Nameh, an Arab romance translated from the original (8vo, Paris, 1805).

of the names are national and anterior in date to the introduction of Islamism, they have probably been retained by the original inhabitants of the country, who, in a mountainous district, could never be utterly exterminated by their conquerors. Surnames are as common among them as among the followers of Omar, and their meaning, though frequently low and almost contemptible, is not considered to be inconsistent with the idea one would like to form of an illustrious personage.

A warrior who had protected the rising ascendancy of the Seljukides and for a time compelled Bagdad to renew her submission to the Ghilan dynasty, is seldom known in history by any other surname than that of Bessasiri "the eater," "the insatiable." The names of ancient Persia were derived either from physical peculiarities or personal dignity, and the origin of their surnames was the same. We shall only mention one instance here, that of Barasmanes, the Squinter, who though covered with wounds, under the walls of Dara, delayed the defeat of his fellow-countrymen and the first victory of Belisarius, till the moment when he ceased to breathe.

Parsee names.

The name given to a Parsee child is generally that of one of the Izeds (the heavenly spirits who are subordinate to Ormusd), or of some celebrated Persian. In Hindustan the Parsees take Hindu names. The Parsee will add his father's name to his own; Norozejii-Jumshedjii, or Norozejii the son of Jumshidjii. However, patronymic surnames like these are not hereditary, and may vary in each succeeding generation.

During no period of their history, either ancient or modern, have the Parsees adopted permanently established family names like those which distinguish European families,

and especially those of the nobility; and yet many families in Persia claim hereditary nobility of rank, independently of the sovereign's power to create it.

SECTION XVIII.

ABYSSINIANS—COPTS—NO FAMILY NAMES IN EGYPT, INDIA, OR CARTHAGE.

THAT the Abyssinians and Tartars, the latter with their nomad habits, should have remained content with a single personal name, is a matter of no surprise to us. In the case of the Tartars, the interest which each man felt in his tribe was a sufficient substitute for a distinction that is only required where society has increased and become more complicated; in the case of the Abyssinians it was easy to remember the genealogy of a small number of powerful families, and of no importance if they forgot the name of all those obscure races which for ages had been fated to gradual decay under the several influences of the yoke of feudalism and the convulsions of anarchy. Abyssinians. Tartars.

Neither is it of any importance that the Copts who were crushed by the tyranny of the Mamelukes had no family names. In this respect however, perhaps more than in any other, we are probably furnished by their own customs with a clue to those of their ancestors. In ancient Egypt, that land so famed for its wisdom, there is nothing by which we can trace the introduction of hereditary names. The same deficiency may be noticed in India, the school of the sages of Greece, and perhaps also of the wise men of Assyria and Egypt. The respect paid by the Egyptians to the memory of Copts. Egyptians.

their ancestors, and the means by which they were kept ever present to their minds, no doubt prevented any confusion of families, or any ignorance of an individual's true line of descent; and among the Hindus, their no less scrupulous attention to the maintenance of caste, and to the many various subdivisions of each caste, must have had the same result, especially in the case of populations where men seldom wander far from the place of their birth or from their settled abode, except it be to go on some religious pilgrimage.

Hindus.

Assyrians.

However well founded the above remarks may be, they are only calculated to explain particular cases. We cannot apply them either to the Assyrians or the Phœnicians, notwithstanding the fact that neither of the two just mentioned ever bore family names. In the one case we are compelled to draw the inference from the scanty information which history has given us on the subject; in the other, however, we may make our assertions with confidence, if we judge, as we are justified in judging, of their own customs by those of their descendants, the Carthagenians. The history of Carthage records individual names only; many of them connected with the adoration of the sun, who had always been an object of worship under the title of Bel, Bal, or, Baal, in the Phœnician, Syrian, and Babylonian territories. Surnames were frequently added to these names; some express descent, as Hanno, son of Bomilcar; others, which historians have translated without explanation, alluded probably to qualities or defects, and so reminded them of that spirit of freedom which in a republican state has so much influence over the giving of names. Hasdrubal, "the kid or the goat," was one of the heralds sent to sue for peace after the taking of Zama. The heads of the two parties which divided public feeling in

Phœnicians.

Carthagenians.

Carthage at the time of its fall, were Hanno the Great, and Hannibal, the Starling.

Some names seem to have belonged specially to certain Carthagenian families; in the most illustrious of all there was a constant succession of Hannibals, Hasdrubals, and Hamilcars. In conformity with a very prevalent custom, parents frequently gave to their children the names of their grandfather or their father's brother. The title Barcine, which is so frequently applied to the same family or rather to the faction of which it was the soul, was not derived from a patronymic, but from the surname of Hamilcar Barca, who first laid the foundation of his family's greatness and that of his followers, on a system of unceasing hostility to the Romans.

SECTION XIX.

CELTS AND CALEDONIANS.

No family names among the Celts.

In our notice of the ancient peoples that were ignorant of the advantages of hereditary names, we must not omit the Celts. It is quite true that we know but little of the names which were most common among them, though they were a people who had spread their colonies far and wide by warfare, who were the acknowledged representatives of the Gauls, whose threat alone, could make the then powerful Rome turn pale and tremble, and who continued to be invincible until their arms were turned against each other in civil dissensions fostered by a cunningly devised policy. And yet how many of them, during the first moments of their triumphant successes, thought their names would live for ever in the records of their native land! How many, when in the very grasp of

Songs of the Druids lost, and consequently the names they commemorated.

death, smiled as they felt assured of being immortalized. Deeds of daring without number had consecrated the names of our ancestors in the songs which the Druids religiously preserved, and which they handed down from one generation to another. The songs of the Druids have perished with the names they sang of; the deeds of daring have been obliterated from the memory of man, and out of so many glorious names only a few here and there have reached us, to testify of the mode in which they had been disfigured by the accounts of the Greeks and Romans.

More fortunate were the heroes of Erin and of Morven. The mountains of Scotland and Ireland still re-echo to the national songs in which the brave men of the olden time are celebrated; songs which, when they were suddenly made known to Europe, banished a feeling of incredulity which had previously existed, and proved that a high style of poetry, a keen appreciation of sentiment, and a noble elevation of expression and feeling, were compatible with the simplest and almost the wildest phases of life.

If we sum up the various hints which bear upon this point and are given us in the compositions of the bards, and which are also mentioned by Cæsar and other historians in their respective works, we shall find that we may fairly apply this particular instance, and draw a general conclusion with regard to the Celts—viz., that all the names of heroes commemorated by Ossian were individual names, and that not one of them was hereditary.

Celtic and Gaelic names significant.

All Celtic and Gaelic names that have reached our day are significant. Not one of the names mentioned by Ossian can be quoted as an exception, and some are of remarkable origin. A warrior chief gains a victory near the dark forest

of Lena (Dardu Lena), and names his daughter after the forest; henceforth that name will make his heart beat more quickly as a soldier and a father, in remembrance of victory won, and centred affection. Cairbar hears that his son Artho has fallen in the fray; his wife has just borne him a second son, he turns towards the newly-born child and says, "Thou shalt be Ferad-Artho" (he that takes the place of Artho), and this inspiration of paternal affection is carefully preserved; the son of Cairbar bears the name till he ascends the throne of Ireland. Instances of significant names.

When no remarkable coincidence occurred to influence the giving of a name, it was very common to name a child after its father. O Gal, son of Gael, is the only title which (in one of Ossian's poems), is given to the son of Oscar's companion in arms. The addition of a distinctive name was generally made when the new member of the tribe had emerged from childhood, and was beginning to take his place among the men of war; a remarkable custom by the way, and one which may be traced among the earlier tribes of America. It would be impossible to adapt such a custom to the present state of society, but it must have had great influence on the courage of men who had no profession but that of war.

As names were usually derived from some outward peculiarity in the individual named, except a young man had earned an honourable title before the expiration of the youthful period of his life, they might belong to several persons at the same time. Many, as was natural, would be likely to prove themselves, "Dreadful-in-the-fight," "Hardy," "Stern-of-look." The adoption of surnames, therefore, soon became an absolute necessity, and accordingly we find that the Caledonians always joined their father's name to their own; Oscar The need of surnames begins to be felt.

son of Ossian; Oscar son of Caruth; Dermid son of Duthno Dermid son of Diaran.

Were their surnames less uniformly similar to each other, or were they more analogous to those selected by other nations? It would be difficult to cite instances. A surname derived from personal appearance or individual peculiarity would serve a double purpose when joined to the name, because it would have been given when that peculiarity had become sufficiently prominent to attract general notice. The natives of America who only received a distinctive name when they had grown up to manhood, do not seem to have adopted surnames like the above.

The Caledonians were not less careful than the Arabs in the matter of their genealogies, and endeavoured to remedy by uninterrupted tradition any confusion which might otherwise have arisen from the want of hereditary surnames. Pride of birth was not their only guarantee for the correctness of the tradition; there were two very powerful sentiments which combined to preserve it in its purity; the one affection, the other resentment. As these feelings were uninterruptedly transmitted from father to son, they served to remind people (with perfect accuracy of detail) of the various events which had led either to a firm alliance or to deadly enmity between two tribes.

Such was the influence of their recollections, that two warrior chiefs who chanced to meet in battle would conceal their names, lest they should be suggestive of some common tie of kin or friendship which might furnish an excuse for avoiding the encounter. A still more honourable fear dictated a rule, that no stranger who claimed hospitality should be asked his name before the expiration of three whole days, under pain of the most severe punishment the law could

inflict. During that time all hereditary hatreds that a name might rekindle had to lie dormant; during that time a generous hospitality had to take the place of a thirst for revenge.

In all parts of Africa, on the contrary, a traveller is asked his name, that of his family, and where he was born; it is the usual form of salutation, and not to answer the questions correctly were to expose one's self to dangerous suspicions. Such is the difference between man in freedom and man in slavery, though the lot of both may have been cast in the same era of civilization.

In Greece, in the old heroic days, the same influence of liberty, the same mixture of both delicacy and warlike ferocity, led to the introduction of a custom which was very similar to that of Caledonia. The stranger was not interrogated as to his name, his family, or the destination of his voyage until he had refreshed himself at the table of his host.

SECTION XX.

GRECIAN NAMES—CONFUSION ARISES IN GRECIAN HISTORY FROM SIMILARITY IN INDIVIDUAL NAMES—THE GREEKS, LIKE THE SCANDINAVIANS, APPROXIMATE TO THE INTRODUCTION OF FAMILY NAMES, BUT DO NOT REACH IT.

A TRAIT in the life of those rustic Caledonians who by their geographical position had long been almost isolated from the rest of the world,* brings us naturally round to the notice of

* Penitus toto divisos orbe.... This description was more applicable to the mountain population of Caledonia than to the inhabitants of Great Britain, inasmuch as the former were never subject to the Roman yoke.

a country which was populated by perhaps the most civilized and certainly the most illustrious people of antiquity. From the days of our boyhoood we remember the names of those heroes as if they had been our contemporaries; we remember those mighty intellects, men famous for poetry and for eloquence, for science and for art, in war and in statesmanship, in a word, all those great men of Greece, who were so many in number that they seemed to have belonged to a countless population, and to a period of many thousands of years' duration. Their names are so deeply engraved in our memories that it would be useless to inquire into their origin if they did not contribute to the force of our argument.

Origin of Grecian names; they are significant.

All Grecian names are significant; all emanate from one or other of the various sources we have mentioned, viz., religious feeling, the remembrance of a great event, some trifling physical peculiarity, some happy omen, chance, friendship or gratitude. Similar feelings produce similar results, at various times, and in different localities. In the islands of the Pacific a man gives his own name to his friend: in Greece he used to give it to the child of his friend. An Athenian who had been the guest of Alcibiades the Lacedemonian,* introduced a name into his family, which, though it now recalls to our minds the nephew of Pericles, and is sometimes mentioned with admiration, should be hailed with feelings of abhorrence by any man who can boast of a country, for Alcibiades was a traitor to the land of his birth, and delivered it up by his treachery to the power of the foreigner.

Greek names were individual.

All Greek names were individual; at the same time we must allow that every family was in the habit of adopting some three or four names, as they used to do in Carthage,

* Thucydides, lib. viii. c. vi.

and that these names were frequently transmitted from the grandfather to the grandson, or from the uncle to the nephew: this rule, however, was not without exceptions, for it might be modified by all those sources of names to which we have just alluded, and by a desire to perpetuate a remembrance of their matrimonial alliances; and further, it never interfered with the right of a mother to name her child as she chose. In one of the plays of Aristophanes, a father tells the audience that he has been compelled to combine in the name of his son, the notions of economy which had ever been characteristic of his own ancestors, and the ideas of luxurious splendour which had been brought in by his wife, whom he had imprudently selected from an illustrious family;* a pointed sarcasm which requires some explanation in our day, but which was no doubt full of telling humour for the Greeks.

There may be more than one source of derivation in a name.

As individual names may belong to many different persons, a confusion may arise as to the exact date of their bearers' existence. Confusion of this kind can hardly be realized during the periods when the history of Greece was accurately written with due attention to correct chronology; but we can form no conception of its extent in the heroic times, when the only records of history were such as were transmitted to posterity in a tradition or a national ode. When attempts were made to reduce the events of that period to a regular system of chronology, the life of the various characters who had made it illustrious was found to have been indefinitely prolonged. In order to obviate this manifest absurdity, it was found necessary to curtail these periods, and to crowd events together which then only served to increase men's doubts of the truth of their ever having happened

* Aristophanes—The Clouds, v. 60-68.

Confusion may arise from similarity of name in different individuals.

at all. When critics began to notice that the same names were borne by different individuals in the early days even of the siege of Troy and the expedition of the Argonauts, it was only natural to conclude, that a similarity in names had given rise to the opinion which attributed the valiant deeds of several individual heroes to one man. And if, for instance, in order to eliminate from the life of Theseus a number of fabulous events, which are in no way accounted for by astronomical mythology, and contradictions which are exposed by accurate systems of chronology, people fancied that the first Athenian legislator (undoubtedly a historic character) had nothing but the name in common with the friend of Hercules or Jason's companion-in-arms—the conjecture, although it gives us no information, is not without much probability in its favour. Ancient writers have recorded the history of many an Orpheus and of many a Hercules: in the heroic days four and even five different persons were named Cycnus; more than twenty Helens have been enumerated besides the daughter of Leda—one who fought with Achilles, a second who fostered the loves of Venus and Adonis, a third the daughter of Ægysthus and Clytemnestra, etc. History speaks of several who bore the name of Demosthenes and Socrates; the existence of two Sapphos, which was long a matter of doubt, has been finally established: why, in like manner, should there not have been more than one Theseus?

Another source of error may have taken a different direction, and acting in a contrary way to the former, induced some to see one character only, when in reality there were many. There was nothing in Greek surnames to distinguish them from ordinary names,—the same words entered into the composition of each. Truthful records of the past could alone

have prevented confusion in the names of two chiefs, viz., Pyrrhus and Neoptolemus, however distinct they really were from each other. Hence perhaps arose those myths (identical in their origin) which were subsequently related with some slight variations, as the genuine history of totally distinct characters, whereas in reality they were one and the same.

The mistake might arise still more easily when a man was not so well known by his individual name as by a surname which indicated the country from which he had sprung. This has frequently happened in recent times, and must have occurred in all. Historians call Agenor the father of Europa, Homer and Dictys the Cretan call him Phœnix or the Phœnician, and because they failed to notice that the latter title indicated the country where he was born, some have been of opinion that there is a contradiction in the two accounts.

Surnames not deemed sufficiently distinctive by the Greeks.

The insufficiency of surnames, when viewed as distinctive titles, is no doubt the reason why they were considered as of slight importance by the Greeks. Except those which seem to have been used together with the names of such famous characters as Achilles, Ulysses, and Æneas, — surnames, whether suggested by feelings of admiration or detraction, had nothing permanent in their nature.

Pausanias alludes with surprise to the almost universal adoption of surnames by the Greeks of Alexandria.

A Pamphylian having succeeded in making his escape from the slavery he had endured in Egypt, alone and in a frail bark, reached the shores of his native land in safety. In consequence of this event he was surnamed Mononautes, and the surname was carefully preserved by his family in memory of his wonderful deliverance. Eustathius tells the story in confirmation of his theory that Ulysses might have sailed

from the island of Calypso to that of the Pheacians. From the expressions he uses, one might infer that the commemorative title was always given to one of the descendants of the Pamphylian who first bore it; but if we even admit the use of the name in its fullest sense, we are still of opinion, that this is a solitary instance of the kind, and that Greek surnames seldom appeared in history, and were never admitted in the recorded transactions of either civil or public life. It was only when the regal successors of Alexander changed such proper names as Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Antiochus into a species of hereditary title, that the surnames given to each of them respectively became sanctioned by legal publicity.

Greeks distinguished by the name of their father, or of the place of birth.

Up to this period the Greeks had been distinguished from each other by the names of their fathers, or by those of the places where they were born. In the Athenian records, an Athenian citizen would register his father's name with his own, that of his grandfather also, his tribe, and his demus.

During the heroic period, the son would first recite his father's names, and if he feared that such a description was not sufficiently distinctive, he would retrace his genealogical descent, as we see it frequently done in the Homeric poem; it is rare in such cases when the descent is not traced back to some mythological deity. When Minerva disguises herself in the human form of the wise Mentor, and names Telemachus her companion in travel, in the presence of Nestor; it is thought by some that the goddess uttered the name in a low tone of voice, as an aside, and that Nestor did not hear it, else he could not have failed to know the entire history of his guest. But this same name of Telemachus, which we only attach to one individual, may have been common to a thousand others, and might have conveyed no positive information to Nestor,

if it were not joined to the other title, viz., son of Ulysses. Many are the errors which are supposed to exist in the ancient writings, and yet which are found to be purely imaginary, when we reflect for a moment on the ways and customs of the country they refer to.

Women's names in Greece.

Daughters were named after the father even more scrupulously than the sons. Destined as they were to a life of retirement, their name was scarcely ever heard beyond the immediate limits of the family circle; their descent was the only thing which it was important to make public. Chryseis, the daughter of Chryses; Briseis, the daughter of Briseus; such is the way in which Homer uses the names without a single exception; we are told by one of the historians that Agamemnon's captive was named Astynome, and that of Achilles, Hippodamia.

Names of children, and how selected.

A father's love for his children frequently induced him to transfer this kind of name from one sex to the other, and many were anxious to reproduce their own name in that of their sons. The Spartan Hegesander named his son Hegesandrides, and the son of Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, was named Hieronymus. This enlarged form of the father's name was further encouraged by a notion which was common among the Greeks, that polysyllabic names were more noble and more honourable than shorter ones, which last were only deemed fit for children, or for slaves. Without denying the existence of such a motive, we feel inclined to attach more importance to the feeling of paternal pride just alluded to, a feeling which found its repetition in each succeeding generation, and which seemed likely to lead to the introduction of a permanently established system of family nomenclature. In many of these respects, we may mention here, in connection with the Greeks,

a people who at first sight would seem to be more unlike them than the old Caledonians themselves. The Scandinavians, and no doubt the Germans also, had none but individual names; every family, however, as was the case among the Greeks, exhibited a decided preference for certain names, which were generally transmitted from grandfather to grandson, or from uncle to nephew. As in the heroic days of Greece, too, the daughter was only known by her father's name, such for instance is the name Alf-hide, which, when literally translated, means the child of Alf'r. Others tried to retain in their family names the root from which the title of the original head of the race was derived, only varying the syllables which were introduced in some cases as prefixes, and in others as affixes. The three descendants of the formidable Argrim retained the last syllable in their name which signifies *rage*, or *dreadful anger*, and which no doubt their ancestor, like themselves, had adopted as a motto on the battle-field.

Traces of a desire to adopt family names.

These certainly seem to be instances in which we begin to notice traces of a desire to describe the family to which a man belonged, or the hero from whom he had sprung, by his name alone. Often, however, an interval takes place, it may be within easy reach of that very discovery the need of which is beginning to be experienced, and the advantages of which are almost appreciated. This was the case both among the polished men of Greece, and the fierce warriors of Scandinavia.

Some, we are aware, think they have discovered family names among the Greeks; the Heraclidæ, the Cecropidæ, the Alcmæonidæ, have led some to assert that these names were common to all the descendants of Hercules, Cecrops, or Alcmæon. To this we simply answer, that the care which

was ever taken by the heroes of ancient Greece to recite their genealogies, is a sufficient proof to us that a title similar to those we have just enumerated, was not an adequate substitute for such a recital. Whereas among ourselves, a man whose name is Dugueselin, Catinat, or L'Hospital, reminds us by his very name of the distinction he has inherited from his ancestors.

Some think they did exist.

The surname Pelides, which is always given to Achilles, was not borne by his son Pyrrhus. Orestes was not surnamed Atrides, like Agamemnon and Menelaus. Hercules, in the same way, is shewn to be descended from Alcæus or Amphitryon. These, therefore, were not really family names.

And further, these surnames were only adopted by two or three families, who pretended to trace their pedigree back to the fabulous periods, and to be descended from the deities of their mythology. Who will venture to tell us the family name of Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes, Iphicrates, or Thrasybulus? And yet all these could boast of a long line of ancestors, whose names, however, if they had been used, would not have been understood to apply generically to their more illustrious descendants.

Reasons for concluding they did not.

So far were the Greeks from having adopted a system of nomenclature, that even the example of the Romans, their conquerors, had failed to introduce it. Strange is the force of habit. The Greeks must have seen how much permanent names would assist them in gaining a knowledge and thorough understanding of the various contingencies to which property in families is liable by reason of hereditary transmission; what aids they would be to memory, and how gratifying they would prove to those feelings of affection or of pride which would lead men to cherish the recollection of their ancestral

honours, and yet the Greeks never adopted a custom which they were approaching so nearly that some have thought they must have attained to it. Here, then, we have an instance of the way in which mere habits of routine can set aside a valuable institution which, in all probability, would otherwise have been introduced by the natural course of events, or by the example of other nations, or by the ordinary reasoning or feelings common to all men. In old times, similar cases were of frequent occurrence, though not so striking perhaps as in this instance, and they are a standing proof of the weakness of our theories respecting the natural progress of intellectual development. They teach us at the same time that experience will lead us to the desired end more surely than any reasoning about it, however plausible such reasoning may be, and that we can only infer what must have been, and even then with the utmost caution, from what has been.

SECTION XXI.

SURNAMES AMONG THE CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND LAPLANDERS.

Where family names were used.

EXCEPT in five countries, family names remained unknown throughout the world until the period of the tenth or eleventh centuries of our era. Their introduction, which we are surprised to find had not taken place in polished Greece, proud as that country was of her historic past, and ingenious as she was to immortalize it through her heroes, is first traced in the far east in China. The institution of family names, which, by their very nature, perpetuate the memory of the head of a family, was worthy of a people who carry filial respect almost to personal worship. It is further, a most remarkable fact,

because, though this custom does not obtain in any of the countries which adjoin China, or whose people have long been in communication with the Chinese (such for instance as the kingdom of Cambodia) it is only one of many other facts which in the aggregate contribute to establish the extraordinary peculiarities of Chinese civilization. It is also an institution which furnishes us with a serious objection to the theory of some, who hold that all civilization commenced in Egypt, a country where none but individual names have ever been known to prevail. In China.

In China, as in Europe, the family name is derived from the paternal side, and is transmitted both to male and female children. The laws of the country do not allow a man to change his name except in the case of adoption into another family. The family name points out the degrees within which marriage is prohibited, for although the nearest relations on the mother's side may intermarry, a Chinese cannot marry a woman of his own name. This is a natural consequence of the feeling which identifies the name with the person, and which in the Loo-Choo islands, where family names are unknown, forbids the marriage of two persons who bear the same surname. All family names in China must be selected from a sacred poem,* which is attributed to the Emperor Yao; no one is allowed to invent one for himself, so that their number is necessarily limited. Father Trigault states that they do not amount in all to a thousand, but we may fairly assume that they are even fewer than this, for the sacred poem in which no word is twice repeated is composed of only four hundred and eight words in all.

* Pe-Kia-Sin, the families of a hundred houses; the title alludes to the tradition which relates that Fo-hi, founder of the Chinese Empire, divided his subjects into a hundred families or tribes.

Distinctive appellations absolutely necessary.

As the hereditary name was common to all the members of a family, it became necessary to distinguish each by the addition of some particular sign; the necessity for this sign might possibly not be obvious in a system of individual names, but in this particular instance it was inevitable. If the distinctive appellation was placed before the family name, it was called a forename, or prœnomen; if after, it was called a surname. There are no such prœnomina in China, the family name is always placed first, and is followed by a numerous variety of surnames. A father usually gives a name to each of his children, which they subsequently use among themselves, and by which they are called by their relations, and their superiors, or they are addressed by some title which indicates the order of their birth.

This last-mentioned kind of surname, which is the only one used in speaking of a daughter before a stranger, has often led Europeans to draw a wrong conclusion. Some have stated, as a fact, that Chinese women never bore any other surnames than the above. Whereas in Chinese romance, where national customs are all the more truthfully portrayed, because they are naturally and incidentally mentioned, the heroine, and one of her relatives, have names which bear no reference to the order of their birth; Ping-Sin, transparent clay; and Ghiang-Koo, young darling.

All Chinese names are significant.

That all Chinese names are significant, we are taught by the history of the country, but it is not always easy to see how the name applies to its bearer, and how for instance such names as Ping-Sin can refer to any possible physical peculiarity. Such names can only arise from a strange use of metaphorical expression, strange, at least to us, who are not accustomed to them, though they may seem very natural and

ingenious to a people among whom such forms of speech are habitually familiar. But in all languages there are certain, I will not call them refinements of figurative expression, but at all events idioms, admitted into general use, which, if literally translated* into any other language, would be simply inappropriate, if not absurd. We must bear this fact in mind in the study of proper names; the necessity there is to express much in two or three syllables, will account for those peculiarities in the composition of names which are as terse as they are pregnant with meaning, and generally understood.

Changes of names among the Chinese.

Living as they do in strict retirement, either in the house of their father or their husband, Chinese women seldom change their surname. On the other hand, among the men, a Chinese adopts a fresh surname when he commences his studies, and another when he takes his position in society. The profession he enters, the duties he undertakes, and all the various circumstances which usually influence a man's life, may lead to some further changes. Nor can the same name be indifferently used by a superior, an equal, or an inferior; to address a man or a woman by the name strictly enjoined by the rules of etiquette is a matter of the most serious importance.

Other surnames, again, which are carefully preserved in the public records, are suggested by certain titles conferred by the Emperor on Chinese men or women (in the latter case independently of their husbands), or derived from the various ranks to which his favour may have raised them, or from which his displeasure may have degraded them. New surnames are even given to the dead; honourable titles given to

* Try, for instance, to translate literally into Latin, a venerable air; freshness of complexion; a diamond of pure water; a watered silk, etc. etc.

a man who has ceased to exist commemorate his services during life, sometimes also they represent the good training he has given to his children, whose illustrious deeds are recompensed by the surname given to their sire.

Official names are, in a manner, hereditary.

The respect due to a man in office is not limited to his own person, but extends also to his children, who, instead of bearing their ordinary surname, are thenceforth called "sons of Mandarin"—(Cong-Tzu.) The same respect is paid to the daughters; by all except their parents or those who are much their superiors in rank, they are never addressed otherwise than as young lady, or daughter of Mandarin. And yet the son of a mandarin has no position in his own right; the son of the most powerful man, a descendant of the emperors, remains the equal of the lowest in the social scale, except he acquire titles and official positions of his own,—a striking example is thereby afforded of the strong feeling of veneration for authority with which this people are imbued, so admirably trained have they been to habits of obedience by the strong influence of a progressive civilization,—a people who, both in their submission and their respect, are unable to separate the kingly from the paternal authority.

Wherever names are hereditary, wherever surnames are suggested by position in the community (whether the position be that of the individual named or of the individual who gives the name), and not by any physical peculiarities, allusions in proper names become unnatural, and, accordingly, I do not think that a single instance could be cited in Chinese literature. Among the many things which Japan has borrowed from China in the progress of civilization, we may fairly class the adoption of family names.

The right of depriving a child of its family name is one

phase of paternal authority in Japan. "I have a daughter," a Japanese once said, "whose wicked conduct has made me strip her of my name; so to me she is no more among the living." . . . . "I have determined to recall my daughter to life, and to be reconciled to her." The force of these expressions shews most clearly how the name is everywhere identified with the individual—the anger which obliterates the name, and the forgiveness which readmits it, are supposed to take away life or to restore it.

The name, though always placed first, is rarely used except in public acts and deeds; a Japanese is usually known and addressed by his surname. Like the Chinese, they have different surnames according to the various periods of life, and more especially according to their gradual elevations in dignity. If any man chance to bear the same surname as the heir to the crown, he is obliged to change it from the moment the latter ascends the throne.

Names of women in Japan derived from the names of flowers.

The surnames of women vary less than those of men; they are generally derived from the names of flowers—true emblems of their enchanting fascinations, and of their too fleeting beauty.

From Japan and from China, where the proud European may possibly grant the existence of certain faint traces of civilization, because he sees there evidences of his own luxuries and vices, we must now turn our attention to a horde of half-savage people whom he will perhaps condescend to recognize as a race which occupies an intermediate position between the brute creation and his noble self. And yet Laplanders have family names; they are usually preceded by one or two prœnomina,—the latter of the two generally indicating the father's prœnomen. The use of hereditary names seems to be

Laplanders. common to them, to the Samoyedes, the Buriates, the Ostiaks, and the Bashkirs; it has ever existed since the memory of man. What is its origin? The thread of all such records is broken, and who will venture to reconnect it? It may be that enfeebled populations were driven back by the victorious Goths and Tartars to the far deserts and ice-barriers of the world, populations who formerly had constituted a nation that extended its influence from the Scandinavian peninsula and Finland, across the province of Archangel, and over the vast tracts of Siberia to the borders of Chinese Tartary, and so may have either borrowed from China, or introduced into it an institution which had been hitherto unknown in any other portion of the globe. To assert this positively would be rash; to deny it were mere folly. The Samoyedes were still nomads in Siberia when that country was invaded by the Russians at the end of the sixteenth century. The territory over which we have supposed the various nations to be scattered and linked together by the use of family names, and whose last representatives were the Samoyedes and the Laplanders, is no doubt most extensive; but it ceases to be so if we compare it with that which was formerly occupied by the Sclavonic nations, and in which the use of their various dialects still proves their existence. More lasting than empires and conquered nations, common usages and idioms survive, and notwithstanding the course of time and an effete civilization, notwithstanding geographical distances and political disruptions, they bear witness to those ancient connections which existed between one nation and another when all history is silent. We must not reject any conjecture which may be fairly grounded on these last vestiges, for they may be our guides to the discovery of similar traces in the traditions, the

customs, and religious creeds of other nations. There is a remarkable circumstance which militates strongly in favour of our conjecture. In Armenia family names are not used; and yet for fifteen centuries at least the Orpelians and Mamigoneans *have* used family names. Now, these powerful families undoubtedly sprang from China; the time of their migration is even quoted with good grounds for its probability. When they settled in Armenia, each of these families adopted a name which was in conformity with the genius of the language of their adopted country, yet still faithful to the institutions of their fatherland they handed it down as a hereditary name to their descendants.

SECTION XXII.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHOICE OF CHINESE NAMES.

Chinese names not the result of chance.

THE first instance of permanently fixed names deserves a somewhat more minute examination.

In the first place, the mode in which China is intimately connected with all branches of civilization, and the law which has set limits in that vast empire to the number and choice of family names, prevent our imagining that names could have been the result of chance; on the contrary, we are forced to come to the conclusion that they form an essential part of one comprehensive system.

Whether early legislators positively invented these names, or whether, by sanctioning their element of permanency, they simply thought of perpetuating an affecting instance of filial respect, they certainly added to the strength of their own institutions by contributing to the public manifestation and

lastingness of a feeling which lies at the root of them all. The triumph of Chinese legislation consisted, in point of fact, in its exaltation of filial affection, because that feeling would be thereby encouraged, which redounded upon the individual in the state, who was intrusted with the sovereign power, and so might become the germ of obedient subordination, not only throughout the intimate relationships of the family circle, but in all the various phases of public life, in the whole of that vast empire.

Great policy manifested in the systematic selection of names.

With deep insight into the future, did they intend that a name should become an incentive to virtuous deeds among the young, by recalling the valorous acts of their ancestors? If they aimed at the same ends which patents of nobility were theoretically intended to produce, we cannot withhold our highest commendation of their foresight, for they succeeded in practically avoiding their inconveniences.

By enacting, that names should not change, and by preventing their being merged into titles or surnames, as the custom is amongst ourselves, they succeeded in checking that natural feeling of pride which leads men to forget everything and everybody that preceded their first illustrious ancestor. Neither is a man suffered to imagine that his nobility is at all ennobled by any distance of years from the original source of his claims to rank, for, with one exception only, which was made in favour of Confucius, no permanent instances of nobility are recognized, and none acknowledged to be greater in proportion to the length of their standing. The sovereign may create hereditary dignities, but the most illustrious end in the tenth generation.

As a natural consequence of the feeling which identifies the person with the name, it follows that a permanently fixed

name seems likely to draw men more closely together in the ties of affection which exist between the various members of a family. It may have been their intention (by thus staking the honour of the whole community on one name, and viewing it as common property) to establish a species of moral solidarity, and consequently a kind of friendly superintendence of each other's affairs, which would continue to be possible so long as they lived under the same roof, undisturbed in their ties of relationship. Or, again, they may have thought that, even if a man were disposed to risk his own life in the commission of some great crime, he might hesitate on remembering the disgrace which he would bring upon his parents or his children. By the side, however, of this thought, we cannot fail to notice one dreadful feature in the matter—the feeling of solidarity which we have been describing as peculiar to China and Japan, does not limit its influence to any personal considerations, it entails punishment, outlawry, and torture upon the wretched parents of the real offenders. Just as of old, in the most enlightened portions of Europe, prejudice not only brought shame and ruin upon a culprit's own personal condition, but on his very name; and a man was in this way frequently condemned, from the very depths of his disgrace, to a twofold mourning for the loss of a father, or a son, or a brother, who had suffered death at the hands of justice. Results like these would naturally bring well-merited odium upon the system of hereditary names, but they did not necessarily belong to it.

Antiquity of the custom of punishing the whole family of an individual criminal.

The barbarous custom of including a whole family in the judicial sentence passed upon an individual offender, is of great antiquity in the East; I can trace its origin in that feeling of family pride which is commonly regarded as the main-

spring or support of social existence, and which is frequently its most dangerous enemy. In all half-civilized nations—and this will include nearly the whole of the world—the feeling of family pride has at various periods armed every man in the same family against the murderer and his family, even though the murder had been committed under provocation, or in self-defence, and was therefore justifiable.

When the community increased, and relatives became so widely scattered about, that mutual supervision became impossible, they were none the less included in this vindictive vow; and a man would have been ashamed to question whether the original offender was not doing a grievous wrong to his descendants by thus dragging them into a career of such undying resentments. Accordingly, a family which was in this way threatened to its very remotest descendant, would naturally conclude that the utter extermination of such a race of avengers was thenceforward a duty and a safe precaution taken in mere self-defence. From private life these customs merged gradually into a place in the penal code, which, before it became the expression of justice, had for a long time been that of private resentment, and which, in point of fact, had to be enforced in order to restrain its own executive from a positive thirst for a vengeance which respected no tie whatever.

The system extends, is no longer limited to private life, but takes its place in the penal code.

This feeling of family pride has ceased to produce such dangerous results, but the law it gave birth to has continued in force, like so many others which have survived the wrong they were originally intended to redress.

It is evident that in this respect progress has nothing to do with any system of permanently fixed names. We find that the custom which it tended to strengthen among people who had none but individual names, and those ancient forms of cruelty,

together with modern prejudices which are but the natural consequences of the former, were unknown in Rome, where family names were so glorious and so illustrious. A Cassius and a Manlius had attempted to enslave the state, and yet the very highest posts and dignities were daily entrusted to their descendants of the same name.

Though so numerous, Chinese surnames do not create confusion.

Secondly,—We cannot help being surprised at first sight by the great number of Chinese surnames, and by the confusion which we think they must create in the various social relationships of life; but a more careful examination of the subject will enable us to look upon them with a more favourable opinion of their usefulness. One only is an arbitrary surname—viz., the one which is given by the father, and which, no doubt, originated in some important recollection, or in some lucky omen. We cannot find fault with the Chinese for exercising a right which is allowed all over the world—viz., that a father should name his own child. All other surnames are determined by law, or by custom, which has equal authority. Some are mere forms of civility, and their use depends upon a ceremonial politeness which we may call the *civil* religion of the Chinese, and which exercises great influence over their habits. Others indicate the condition and occupation of an individual from the moment when he takes his first step in the career of public and political life, and from that point to the very highest pinnacle of power to which he can attain. They even serve to point out, in a man's life, the various degrees of rise and fall in dignity through which he may have passed, according as he has either been recompensed or disgraced by his sovereign. At all times, by a word, by the simple utterance of a few syllables, a man's civil status is completely revealed to his fellow citizens. One can

easily conceive how useful such a custom must be, in constantly reminding people of the titles of distinction borne by others, and how practically valuable also they must be among men who rate the worth of their distinctions by the many small acts of obsequiousness which they secure. At the same time we may remark how impossible it would be to introduce such a system of nomenclature among people who are less bound to habits of ceremonial etiquette by the very nature of their institutions. I conclude, therefore, that it is a preconceived result, and one which is perfectly consistent with the whole system of Chinese civilization. There can be no doubt about it, for whereas all these surnames succeed one another in regular order, the patronymic, which was ever placed first, is retained; it always reminded a man of the stock from which he was sprung, an advantage which, for its absolute value and relative importance to Chinese civilization, could only have been foreseen by the most skilful of legislators.

Chinese nomenclature is systematic.

On the contrary, when we can trace, as we do in Rome (both in the social relationships of life and in the public records), a gradual extinction of the family name, sometimes disguised and sometimes replaced by surnames either arbitrarily added or indefinitely multiplied, we are right, I think, in attributing them to chance rather than to any preconceived design, and we are further enabled to attribute their probable origin to a similar source among the Etruscans, from whom, no doubt, the Romans borrowed their own system.

SECTION XXIII.

ROMAN NAMES—THE PRÆNOMEN—THE ROMANS NEVER HAD MORE THAN ONE.

The subject of Roman nomenclature is not exhausted.

SEVERAL excellent treatises have been written upon the subject of Roman names, and yet, when we begin to inquire into the theory of the matter, we still find cases which require further elucidation, problems as yet unsolved, and questionable arguments which need refutation.

That name which is hereditary and borne by all the members of the same family (nomen, nomen gentilitium) was always preceded by a first name (prænomen), and this was the distinguishing appellation of each individual. But as these prænomina did not mark out the distinction with sufficient clearness, the family name was also followed by either one surname (cognomen) or by several, and sometimes by the agnomen, which was a peculiar kind of surname.

The family name.

That the family name is assumed by the sole right of legitimate descent, is its essential characteristic. Some writers, however, have asserted that the Romans used to give it to their children on the day of their birth, while others assigned a later date to the same ceremony, as, for instance, in the case of sons, when they put on the toga virilis, and in that of daughters when they married; both these errors arise from an inaccurate statement of real facts.

It was customary to lay a new-born child at its father's feet; to have let it remain on the ground were to have disowned it, and would have been equivalent to a sentence of death. The act of raising the child was a formal acknowledgment of its legitimacy, and invested the father with all

paternal rights and duties. Thus, the civil condition of a child, which for a moment remained a matter of uncertainty, was thereby fixed; the name of his ancestors became his own, and in that sense only could it be said to be solemnly given at that time. You may read the family name in all monumental inscriptions, where a father's grief or a mother's anguish are depicted as having prematurely laid the object of their tenderest love upon the funeral pile; you may read it even in instances where parents could only count by months, or even days, the age of children who (such at least had been their parents' hope) should one day have paid them the same sad tokens of mourning respect.

But it was not until the important time when a man became a citizen, or a woman entered into the married state (thereby taking their respective places in society), that they began to be well known by their patronymic title in wider circles; hence it may have been imagined by some that then only did they acquire the right to bear it; up to that period, living as they did in the seclusion of private life, they had almost always been known by the individual and distinguishing names given to them by their own parents. A similar custom may be noticed amongst ourselves; children of either sex, while under the parental roof, are rarely called by any other than their Christian name, until their age entitles them to a place in society, when strangers only know them by their family names.

The prænomen.

To those who are in doubt whether children of tender age had a prænomen, we might adduce the irrefragable evidence of the customs of the period, in several instances of monumental inscriptions. Daughters received it on the eighth day from their birth, sons on the ninth. The difference of time

between the two seems to remind us of the difference of age at which each attains to puberty. The hopes of a long life which a child's physical appearance may give birth to, a mark clearly impressed upon the body, time or order of birth, and more especially extraordinary contemporary events, are each and all phenomena that are calculated to occupy a parent's thoughts, and are sure to be reproduced in the names given to the child; and these accordingly are traceable in the majority of Roman prænomina. It were exceeding the limits of my subject if I explained them all, but it is incumbent upon me to draw the attention of my readers to the fact that ancient authors are not always safe guides in their interpretation of names. They maintain, for instance, that the prænomen Spurius served to designate one of those children who are so unfortunate as to be unable to lay claim even to an illegitimate descent from a known father. Now this prænomen Spurius was borne by a considerable number of the patrician order, and without including the father of the celebrated Lucretia, we find seven of the name in the list of consuls during the first forty-five years of the commonwealth. How can it be credited that a body of men who were so proud and jealous of the purity of their race, should have admitted into their number and promoted to the highest offices in the state, men who were the wretched offspring of common prostitution, or have given to their sons a name which suggested doubts as to their legitimacy? Spurius is, in my own opinion, only another form of the Greek Σπορεύς a sower, and in that sense answers to the surname Serranus, a name rendered illustrious by a consul who had followed the plough; and to the other name Sertor, a prænomen or a surname in common use in ancient Italy, and one

Mistakes made by ancient authors.

which must have been frequently given in agricultural districts.*

In a country where a father, if he turned aside with averted looks, devoted his own newly-born infant to certain death, no circumstance that occurred between a man and his child about the time of its birth could be regarded as unimportant; the least thing was of moment; and, accordingly, the prænomen used frequently to indicate whether a child had been born in its parents' old age, or while he was far away on a voyage (Proculus), or after the father's death, but during the grandfather's life (Opiter), or at a stranger's house and far from home (Hostus).

One prænomen only used.

A single prænomen is, I think, the invariable rule; Gruter, however, quotes certain monumental inscriptions in which *several* seem to belong to the same individual. But it is, at the same time, a very remarkable fact that we can find no traces of a plurality of prænomina in ancient writers on Roman names, and that we do not meet with a single instance in history, in the orations of Cicero, in his epistles, or those of Pliny.

The result will be the same if we search through the Fasti consulares, and the very copious lists that fill several pages in Gruter's catalogue of names; such, for instance, as the list of members of the religious society of the Fratres Arvales, and of those persons who in the time of Hadrian contributed their religious offerings to the enlargement of a temple. This, however, is only a negative argument; but the very nature of the subject allows of no other, and if we

* According to Plutarch, the mistake arose from the following circumstance; viz., that the Romans used the same abbreviation S.P. to express the name Spurius and the words sine patre (without father).

apply to it the ordinary doctrine of probable chances, we shall be forced to admit that it almost amounts to positive evidence.

The only instances which tend somewhat to invalidate the statement that prænomina were used singly, are furnished by certain inscriptions, which, when compared with the many that confirm the statement, are found to be very limited in number. Are we not justified then in conjecturing that there may be some error in the carving, in the copying, or the interpretation? The letter L, which signifies a freeman, is often mistaken for the sign of the prænomen Lucius; how many other abbreviations, in which the error is less easily detected, may have led to equally wrong conclusions. In one instance, which occurs frequently in the signature to Cicero's epistles, the family name is expressed by a single initial;* in another, the letters D.M. (by which an inscription is consecrated to the Divine Manes) may have been placed on the same line with the names, sometimes in inverted order,† sometimes with the omission of one of them. In another instance, again, people may have omitted to divide the prænomina of two different persons in the same family by a conjunction, when they come together in an inscription.‡ And further still, a letter may have been taken for

* Abbreviations sometimes extended to all kinds of names; *ex. gr.*, Q.V.M., Quintus Valerius Maximus; M.T.C., Marcus Tullius Cicero.

† M.Q. Avitus, D.C.F. et Ociata Avita (DCXCII. 3, Gruter), which I read Manibus Diis. Q. Avitus Caii Filius, etc.

‡ As in the sentence of arbitration between the Genuates and the Veturii, given by the two brothers Minucius Rufus; Q.M. Minucieis Q.F. Ruffeis de controversiis .... cognoverunt (Gruter, cciv.) If the verb cognoverunt had been expressed in any abbreviated form, there would have been nothing to shew that the word *et* had been omitted between Q. (Quintus) and M. (Marcus); and this must frequently have occurred, thanks to the conciseness of the carver.

a prænomen which had really no connection with it whatever.* Add to all these numerous sources of error, a frequent want of accuracy in modern transcripts, mistakes, mis-spellings, and solecisms, which in the case of monumental inscriptions are a proof either of the ignorance or the carelessness of the workmen of those days; and we shall be ready to allow that, without any admission of the existence of a plurality of prænomina, it is possible to afford an easy explanation of the doubtful cases quoted in Gruter's list.

Why the point is insisted on.

It might at first be thought that a discussion of this nature would only be interesting to those who have devoted much time and attention to the study of inscriptions; but such is the importance of everything which refers to the systematic adoption of proper names, that whilst we were endeavouring to prove the truth of the proposition which we laid down at the commencement of the argument, it also became necessary to establish that nothing connected with the subject is (as a rule) guided or governed by caprice. Now, nothing but caprice could have introduced a plurality of prænomina amongst a people who were not led to multiply them by any of those religious feelings, or social requirements, which subsequently existed among nations of more recent date.

* There is a case of an inscription which seems to be consecrated to the memory of Q.S. Litius (Gruter, cccLxvii. 1); some would assert at once that those are undoubtedly two prænomina; but two inscriptions discovered (like the first) at Turin, at the same time that they commemorated similarly excellent qualities in the individual, describe him as Q. Glitius.—(*Ibid*, ccccxvi. 6 and 7.)

SECTION XXIV.

THE PRÆNOMEN NOT SUFFICIENT—SURNAMES NECESSARY.

Why surnames were introduced.

To motives, plausible in their character, if not rational, and emanating naturally from a most familiar habit among men, must the use of surnames be attributed among the Romans. One might have imagined that prænomina would have sufficed to distinguish between persons who bore the same family name. There were about thirty adopted into common use, and there are few if any families, whose members of the same sex amount to so large a number. Many of their prænomina became obselete; some because they contained allusions to circumstances which were of such rare occurrence that custom could not long retain them; others, because it was difficult to write them intelligibly in an abbreviated form. The custom of abbreviating names grew with the growth of the nation and with the progress of its civilization, for as its business, intercourse, and commerce increased, so also did the use of writing. Naturally, then, and perhaps unconsciously, men selected for their prænomina names that were the most easily expressed by a single initial or by one or two letters; the greater part of the remainder gradually subsided into the class of surnames.

After the treasonable acts of Manlius Capitolinus, his family forbad the use of the prænomen Marcus which he had borne.* In a similar way the family of Claudius gave up the prænomen Lucius, in consequence of its having been disgraced by two of their ancestors; one had been convicted of robbery, the other of murder.† Perfectly consistent with

* Tit. Liv., lib. vi., cap. xx. † Suetonius (In Tiber., sec. i.)

Roman manners in general, was such a forethought as this which led the noble-minded citizens of Rome to fear lest any of their posterity should be mistaken for a thief, a murderer, or a traitor to his country.

Sentiments more widely shared by the generality of men may have caused similar instances of self-denial in other families. The testimony of our own hearts is at hand to supply any deficiencies in the records of history; should we feel disposed to give one of our own children a name that had been borne by another, of whom death had robbed us? It is only reasonable that we should experience a feeling of repugnance for a name which, when uttered, must inevitably renew the bitter recollection of our loss. With a people who were deeply impressed with a belief in favourable and unfavourable omens, the fact that such a name recalled past misfortunes was the slightest ground of their objection to it; it was thought to prognosticate further disasters, and accordingly was soon doomed to be utterly abandoned.

An opposite motive led to a still further curtailing of the list of prænomina then in common use—viz, the preference which was manifested for particular names in certain families. The house of Domitius Œnobarbus usually adopted no other prænomina than those of Lucius and Cneius.* The prænomen Appius, which was introduced into Rome by the Claudian family belonged to them exclusively.† Q. Fabius, the sole survivor of the disaster on the banks of the Cremera, married an heiress of the house of Numeria; and, in consideration of this alliance, gave his first-born the prænomen Nume-

* Sueton. in Neron., sec. i.

† Other families used it as a surname; M. Annius *Appius* is mentioned by Cicero, orat. pro. L. Cornelio Balbo, sec. xx.

rius,* a name which was not adopted by other families till long after that period. The prænomen Servius was borne by many distinguished characters, but had in reality become almost peculiar to the Sulpician family, so that Dionysius of Halicarnassus† was wrong when he asserted that Servius signified *born in slavery.* The children of slaves were not patricians, nor could they rise to the dignity of the consulship.‡ Had that prænomen recalled any idea of slavery, the fastidious Tibullus would hardly have mentioned it in his poems, where he describes the indignation of an outraged maiden, whose lover had preferred a worthless slave to herself, the daughter of *Servius* Sulpicius.§ Valerius Maximus‖ tells us that a child (if he survived) was usually named Servius when his mother died in giving him birth; and the justice of this explanation becomes evident when we notice how many of the patrician and noble orders bore this prænomen from the earliest days of the commonwealth to its fall. We can account for this having escaped the notice of Dionysius of Halicarnassus by the supposition that he followed¶ the tradition which is rightly rejected by Livy,** viz., that the

* Valer. Maxim., lib. x. S. Pomp. Festus, under the word Numerius. According to the above two writers, the Fabii alone of the Patricians used this prænomen. Cicero mentions six individuals of totally different families who bore the prænomen Numerius. *See* Ernesti, clavis Ciceroniana, under the word Numerius.

† Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Roman, lib. iv., c. 1.

‡ *Servius* Sulpicius, consul, A.U.C. 253. *Servius* Cornelius, consul, A.U.C. 268, etc.

§ Sit tibi cura togæ potior, pressumque quasillo
Scortum, quam SERVI filia Sulpicii.—TIB., lib. iv. *Eleg.* 10.

‖ Valer. Maxim. lib. x. Lydus, De magistrat. reip. rom., lib. i., c. xxiii. T. Prob., De nom. imp.

¶ Dion. Halic. in the passage before quoted.

** Tit. Liv., lib. i., cap. xxxix.

sixth king of Rome was the son of a female slave. The tradition, which may be traced to the days of the Tarquins, the enemies and assassins of Servius Tullius, probably originated in the false interpretation to which the prænomen of the prince was liable; and here I may add that I do not think I have mentioned anything above foreign to my subject, in my endeavour to clear up the origin of this particular prænomen.

Why particular prænomina existed in particular families.

We may now inquire how it arises that there is a decided preference for particular prænomina in particular families. What is the origin of a feeling which, common as it is (although there be no valid reason to account for it), leads a man to see a second self in his son, if that son bear the same name that he himself does? If it be a natural feeling—if we ourselves recognise it in our own affections and in our practice in our own domestic circles—if we daily yield to that feeling, they daily yielded to it in Rome. The prænomen of the father was generally handed down to the son, but more especially to the eldest son; in like manner the second son took the prænomen of some near relative of his father; thus, by degrees, one or two prænomina became almost hereditary in the family.

In order to obviate confusion, the qualities of father or son were sometimes introduced, of elder (senior), or younger (junior). More frequently, still, after a person's name, his father's or his grandfather's prænomen was introduced in its abbreviated form; sometimes even they went back to still remoter degrees of parentage.* Both of these expedients,

* In the inscription of Ficulneum (Encyclop. méthod., Antiquités), under the word Alimentarii, to the name of Marcus Aurelius, who had founded in that village an institution for the maintenance of the children of the poor, of both sexes, we find the words following added :—

which served their purpose in inscriptions, but which were gradually beginning to cause embarrassment in the public acts, were wholly inconsistent with the regular business of life. What, for instance, would have been the use of the second, when two brothers had the same prænomen? Such was the case with the two brothers Metellus, the contemporaries of Cicero. The prænomen Lucius was common to Seneca and to his younger brother, the father of the poet Lucan, the author of the Pharsalia. In an inscription copied by Murith, three sons of C. Julius are mentioned, who, like their father, bore the prænomen Caius.

Inasmuch, then, as the prænomen was not found to fulfil the requirements which it was originally designed to serve, the need of a distinguishing title was felt in very early days; this led naturally to the introduction and common use of surnames among the Romans.

SECTION XXV.

SURNAMES (COGNOMINA) INTRODUCED INTO THE PUBLIC RECORDS —WHY SOME SURNAMES BECAME HEREDITARY — THESE SURNAMES NEVER EXCLUSIVELY LIMITED TO ONE FAMILY.

Surnames introduced in Rome at a very early period.

THE same reasons which everywhere led to the adoption of surnames, contributed to their introduction in Rome at a very early period, and so numerous were they that it may be remarked as somewhat strange that there were Romans who had no surnames. It is, however, a fact which we find in-

"filio, nepoti, pronepoti, abnepoti." The series of adoptions through which he had been admitted into the imperial family rendered this description a necessary one.

stanced in the Fasti Consulares, both before and after the admission of plebeians to the consulship. As Plutarch observes,* we know neither the surname of Marius nor that of Sertorius; and Lucius Mummius† did not receive his until after the fall of Corinth.

Many surnames might belong to the same individual.

We are less surprised to find that the same individual sometimes had many surnames at the same time, or in succession. Before his adoption of the surname Cœpias, the too famous Octavius had received that of Thurinus. Antony addressed him by it, in derision, with a meaning which Octavius was weak enough to notice. If, however, we give credence to his flatterers, he had received the surname Thurinus in memory of distinguished services rendered to the state by his father Octavius, who had defeated and ultimately exterminated a number of armed bands, the formidable remainder of the armies of Spartacus and Catiline.‡ We are tempted to ask whether it is not more probable that his sensitiveness in this matter arose from the fact that the surname reminded him of the origin of his family;§ an origin which was anything but flattering to his pride, if (as Antony stated) his great-grandfather was the son of a liberated slave, and a roper in a small village in the district of Thurium.‖

The surnames Cœpias and Augustus were substituted for Thurinus in his case; but it was not equally easy for an ordinary Roman citizen to set aside a designation which displeased him. When writing to Lentulus, Cicero (as the Abbé

* Plutarch, in Mario, I.

† Achaïcus. Mummius was the first of the *new* men whose exploits were commemorated by a surname of this kind.

‡ Sueton. in August., cap. vii.

§ In memoriam majorum originis—(Sueton. *ib.*)

‖ Proavum . . . restionem e pago Thurino—(Sueton. *ib.*, cap. ii.)

Prévôt very justly remarks) never gives him the surname Spinther,* which was founded on his great likeness to the comedian of the same name. Such a surname could hardly have been an agreeable one to Lentulus; how then can we account for its being inserted in the Fasti, and for its furnishing the date of the memorable year in which the then consul Lentulus recalled Cicero from exile? In a word, how was it that surnames which were disliked by those who bore them, either on account of some implied meaning, or of the events they recalled, should have been perpetuated by their insertion in the public records?

How surnames which were distasteful to their owners were nevertheless perpetuated.

In order to explain a custom which (to all appearance) is so foreign to our own institutions, we must first examine what commonly takes place at popular elections. The greater the number of voters, the greater also will be the number of those, who, in order to distinguish their favourite candidate from others of the same name, fasten upon some circumstance, often trivial in character, and sometimes ridiculous, which they turn into a designating title, a real surname, and which a mere accident probably is afterwards sufficient to perpetuate. Notwithstanding all the precautions that are taken to describe clearly and correctly the names and titles of each candidate, so as to avoid mistakes in the voting, the above-mentioned style of naming was not always prevented. It was, moreover, likely to be of unusually frequent occurrence in Rome, as the use of surnames was general there, and sometimes conveyed the expression of popular feeling; there was a further reason too, viz., that the right of voting was more widely extended than it is with us, and was attended by less rational modes of procedure. What could be done in such a case?

* Valer. Maxim., lib. ix., cap. xiv.

After votes had been secured at the sacrifice of so much time and trouble, could they be refused because they were likely to give currency to a disagreeable name? Candidates had further to endure the proclamation of the distasteful surname at the final declaration of the poll; it was then entered in regular order in the public records, and custom alone rendered this sacrifice of personal vanity to ambition even tolerable.

Instances of such names.

Experience tells us that the commonest of all names given at elections were those which defined the place of birth or of the then residence. These were often adopted in Rome, first, because they enabled a man to escape some more objectionable appellation; and, secondly, because they sometimes afforded advantages which the ambitious were not slow to secure. As the various provinces of Italy had obtained their right to vote successively, each particular people made it a point of honour to vote for those candidates who belonged to them by right of birth, or whose long residence and tenure of high public office had in some way naturalized them. Any surname which reminded the voters of such a title as the one I have just mentioned, was never an unimportant one, and from this I am the more inclined to infer, that we must explain Roman surnames from this point of view, and not according to any other system, which, though it may possibly exhibit more ingenuity, certainly contains less truth. Take one instance—did the surname of Catiline contain any allusion to the small town of Catilus in the neighbourhood of Tibur,* or to the Catili,† the people amongst whom that

* . . . . Mœnia Catili.

Horat. Od., lib. i. 18. v. 2.

Note that, in Catilus, the first syllable is long, and in Catilina it is short.

† Pliny (Nat. Hist., lib. iii., cap. 20) places the Catili between Pola and Tergeste (Trieste) in the Julian Alps.

illustrious offender was born, and had spent his childhood; or had he, like many of the patricians, accepted some high magisterial office* there, and thence derived the surname.

There is no certainty in the matter, but it is more natural to admit such a supposition than to believe that this surname alluded to gluttony (the only vice, perhaps, which Catiline had not), or that it signified, the plunderer. No doubt Catiline had well deserved the epithet; but had it been given by the voice of public consent, we cannot but think that Cicero (whose sarcastic allusions to the name of Verres were so bitter) would hardly have suffered Catiline to escape. Then, again, would Catiline have transmitted so opprobrious a title to his son? or can we imagine that a young man who died poisoned by his father when fifteen years old, could have earned a similar title at so early a period of his career?

How surnames generally became established.

This instance of the transmission of a surname from father to son, far from being an isolated case, was a frequent occurrence. Motives were not wanting to lead to its repetition. The hope of escaping a permanently disagreeable title through the customary use of an established surname; the feeling then already manifesting itself of a preference for names that had been borne by ancestors; the noble wish to immortalize the fact that a man was descended from one who had earned a title of dignity or had made his surname famous, such names, for instance, as Scævola, Brutus, and Publicola. Still, all these did not secure permanency; another motive crept in at last, and in consequence of its being constantly acted on by the force of circumstances, it led to the final establishment

* At the same time that Milo was offering himself at Rome as a candidate for the consulship, he was dictator or chief magistrate in his own native city of Lanuvium. (Cicero. orat pro Milone, 17.)

of a system of hereditary transmission—not immediately sanctioned by the law, it is true, and but little in harmony with the original principle of the institution of names.

The senators who were successively selected by Romulus, Servius Tullius, and Brutus, had only transmitted patrician rank to their immediate descendants ; all their other relatives retained their plebeian condition. A patrician branch, therefore, might possibly have many collateral branches in a very inferior rank. The Papirii and the Licinii were constantly divided amongst plebeians and patricians. After the admission of plebeians to all offices in the state, and when custom had fixed that the title of noble was due to those only who were descended from a citizen who had been a curule magistrate, the distinction between nobles and not-nobles extended to a greater number of families. How, then, could these be distinguished? How could they avoid the confusion which was naturally caused by the fact that the family name was common to many?

The necessity for preventing a danger so galling and so alarming to their feelings of pride, increased daily. With her increasing conquests Rome felt the necessity of augmenting the number of her citizens. The first strangers who were admitted to the rights of citizenship retained the names they had adopted in various parts of Italy, thereby imitating the custom which was prevalent in Roman names, or they modified them in a way which still accorded with the Roman system. When Lucumo, the son of the Corinthian Demaratus, was presented with the freedom of the city, he exchanged his own name for the prœnomen Lucius, and with the name of his own native town, Tarquinia in Etruria, he made for himself and his family the name of Tarquin, which

was destined in his new country to so short, yet at the same time, in another sense, to so lasting an existence.

Spread of family names and prænomina through the rights of citizenship.

The powerful influence of Rome soon extended beyond the restricted barriers of the Samnite and Etruscan territories; her conquests comprehended kingdoms and nations; civic freedom became an honour which was coveted all over the world; the man of talent, whose labours it rewarded; the allies, whose services it acknowledged and repaid; the vanquished, whom it consoled for their defeat—all, in fact, chiefs of states, and even kings, ranged themselves under the patronage of the consul or the prætor to whom they were indebted for the gift, and they took the family name, and not unfrequently the prænomen of their noble patron. Tarcondimotus or Tracondementus, king of Cilicia, bore the name of Antony. The son of Masintha, a Numidian chief, was called C. Julius; he served in Cæsar's army, and had probably received his privileges of citizenship from the illustrious dictator. In the provinces of Gaul, almost every character of eminence in history bears the name of Julius, probably for some analogous reason.

If a factiously disposed magistrate conferred the rights of citizenship on a class of men whose poverty or whose low origin had hitherto furnished an excuse for their exclusion, his name became theirs; in this way Sylla introduced into Rome, nearly ten thousand who bore the name of Cornelius.

These newly-adopted citizens generally took as a surname (cognomen) their own native proper name. The poet Archias was so highly esteemed by Lucullus (Licinius), that he received from him the title of Roman citizen, a title which has been perpetuated by the eloquence of Cicero. His name became A. Licinius Archias. Cæsar received his first lessons in literature and eloquence from a Gaul named M. Antonius Gniphon,

whose cognomen among the Celts must have been peculiar to a race of warrior chiefs.* To the Celtic language belonged also the surname Trogus,† which distinguishes the historian whose abridgement of Justinian makes us regret the loss of his other literary labours, and whose grandfather, born among the Vocontii, had obtained from Pompey the Great the title of Roman citizen.

Similar also to this, was the mode of proceeding with respect to slaves who had received their freedom. They took their master's name‡ and prœnomen; sometimes they received the prœnomen of one of his friends, to whose patronage they considered their liberation due.§ The name by which they had been known during their slavery became their surname.

Accordingly, we find that names which were once peculiar to the first families in Rome, frequently became common to all classes, even to the very dregs of society, and that owing to liberations and conquests, the provinces and the city itself were abundantly peopled with men who bore the name of Cornelius, Julius, Fabius, Claudius, and the like. What more was needed to cause confusion, not only between the noble and the not-noble, the patrician and the plebeian, but also between the grandson of a stranger, one of the proletarii, or a

* Gnif., *i.e.*, toil, trouble, and metaphorically "fighting; onn, *i.e.*, ash, and metaphorically, lance, shaft. (Richard's Welsh-English Dictionary.)

† Trochi, *i.e.*, to dive. The name of Trogus doubtless indicated a swimmer, a famous diver.

‡ All who were liberated by the emperors took the title of Liberti Augustales; their name indicating what emperor they had served.

§ See Cicero's Ep. ad Attic., lib. iv., ep. xv., and Boindin in his "Dissertation on Roman Names." It is most likely that strangers, when they became citizens, conformed to this custom.

slave, and the descendant of one of the founders of the commonwealth? Nothing more was needed than the expiration of a few years or some reverse of fortune.

The surname, therefore, which belonged to the individual and could not be transferred either to clients or to freed men, became pre-eminently the distinguishing title. The custom was, (a custom no doubt suggested by feelings of pride) to call a liberated slave by his surname, *i.e.*, his old slave name; it was only when circumstances rendered it politic either to flatter him or to treat him as an equal that he was addressed by his prœnomen.* The surname of a newly-made citizen, recalling as it did his nationality, was sufficient to distinguish him; in the same way, it was a sign of intimate friendship and regard if you addressed a Roman citizen by his surname only;† he was supposed to be so generally known, that the surname sufficed to describe him. Posterity has more than once confirmed this conjecture. In speaking of Cicero and of Cæsar, there is no fear of being misunderstood. Doubt only arises when other names being added to the first, we are reminded that it may have belonged to the parents or the descendants of the great man it recalls to our memory.

For the reasons above mentioned, the surname was pre-eminently distinctive.

The habitually constant and ever increasing importance of the surname solves the proposition that I have laid down. At first the various patrician branches of a family affected the use of two or three surnames, always placed in the same order so that they might become hereditary, with a view either to distinguish families in their own rank, or to avoid being

* Pers., sat. v., v. 79-81. Horat. Sermon., lib. ii., sat. v., v. 32, 33:—

"Quinte, puta, aut Publi; gaudent prœnomine molles
Auriculæ."

† Cicero, Orat. pro domo suâ, cap. ix.

mistaken for plebeian families of the same name. These, in their turn, when they had attained to that eminence which curule offices conferred upon them, adopted names that evidenced the fact that they were not indebted for their nobility to any lucky chance, or to the mere favour of a selection, but that they held it by right of high posts of honour which they could not have filled without having done great and signal service to their country. And then again, the fear of being mistaken for new men as they were called, for strangers, or for liberated slaves, led to the further extension of the custom which was thus transmitted to the equestrian rank from the bosom of noble and patrician families, and thence it went on farther still.

Surnames, even when they had become hereditary, were followed by an individual surname.

This result of private feelings did not interfere with any expression of public opinion; the hereditary surname was almost always followed by an individual surname. Piso received the title of Frugi (the honest man); whilst the illustrious descent of the Lentuli did not save one of their number from being surnamed Sura, a name which probably conveyed a far from creditable allusion.

In vain did length of time and high distinction seek to consecrate the hereditary character of a surname; in vain did some append emblematic signs to it, such as the chain-collar of Torquatus, and the lock of hair of Cincinnatus, in order to add further distinction to their surnames; they were never used exclusively by the families by whom they had been originally adopted; this was in the natural course of things, for no law interfered to regulate surnames, and they had, moreover, a meaning in them which was quite independent of all the historic recollections which they now convey to us, a meaning applicable in those days to all who were charac-

terized by similar qualities. A Manlius Cincinnatus and a Quinctius Capitolinus appear in the Fasti Consulares, long before the time when the former of the two surnames was immortalized by a Quinctius, and the latter by a Manlius. The surname of Cotta had become hereditary in the Aurelian family; those of Crassus and Lucullus were the marks of distinction between two branches of the Licinii, while the surname of Paulus seems to have been peculiar to the Œmilii. I have noticed on an inscription the name C. Aurunceius Cotta. P. Canidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, is (on a medal) surnamed Crassus. Sallustius Lucullus is mentioned as one of the victims to the cruelties of Domitian. The proconsul of Cyprus, who was converted to Christianity by St. Paul, was named Sergius Paulus. From want of attention to these points, and to many more of the same kind, certain critics have attempted alterations in the text of Cicero and Livy, because the surname Salinator is attributed to other persons than the celebrated M. Livius, who, when censor, included in his censorial note thirty-four of the thirty-five tribes of which the Roman people consisted. The possession of the surname Salinator, like that of surnames in general, was not exclusively individual. It is the duty of an archæologist to remember this, whilst others may be excused for their ignorance of the fact. It will always be a matter of surprise to hear of such names as Calpurnius Seneca and Capronius Cicero.

Surnames did not retain their hereditary character.

SECTION XXVI.

AGNOMEN—SURNAME TAKEN BY A MAN AFTER HIS ADMISSION INTO A NEW FAMILY BY ADOPTION.

Origin of the agnomen.

THE system of adoption which admitted the member of one family into another and a different family, conferred upon him at the same time the prœnomen, the name and the surname of his adoptive father; but in order to retain some name by which he could at any time retrace his origin, there was added a peculiar kind of surname, called the agnomen, which was regularly derived from the patronymic he was obliged to renounce. Octavius, when adopted by Cæsar, received the names of Caius Julius Cæsar *Octavianus*. The name from which the agnomen was derived was also sometimes recited in Roman inscriptions.

In the latter days of the commonwealth, the hereditary surname of the family to which the adoptive son belonged was sometimes used as an agnomen. M. J. Brutus became Q. Servilius Cœpio-Agalo Brutus. In the time of the emperors, the person adopted frequently retained his patronymic, and consequently became the possessor of two names. When adopted into the family of the illustrious writer of the Natural History, C. Cœcilius, better known by the name of Pliny the younger, was called C. Plinius Cœcilius Secundus. However the agnomen was derived, its use was flattering to personal vanity, and had its effect on the morals of the people, and in this way we must view the question. An adoption put an end to the rights and dissolved the ties of union which existed between the real father and his son, but this extended only to matters affected by the civil law. The agnomen recorded the

existence of rights higher and more binding than these, viz., the natural ties of kin, due observance of which was insisted upon not only on the father's side, but on the mother's also, for her name has been frequently known to regulate the form of an agnomen or a surname; in fact, her name was frequently the only means of preserving the remembrance of the parentage.

SECTION XXVII.

FEMALE NAMES AMONG THE ROMANS—SURNAMES—MEN'S NAMES DERIVED FROM THEM.

Roman women's names.

THE daughter of a Roman took her father's name, with the simple alteration of the feminine termination; as Julia, daughter of Julius; Octavia, daughter of Octavius.

A female liberated slave took the name of the person to whom she was indebted for her freedom. From the numerous inscriptions in which the names of husband and wife are the same, with the exception of the termination, it may sometimes be inferred that the master had married his liberated slave; but more frequently they are the names of two slaves who belonged to the same master, and who married at the time of their liberation. This must have been a matter of frequent occurrence, as (in the opinion of those best versed in Roman jurisprudence) male liberated slaves could only intermarry with the female liberated slaves of their own patron or of other members of his family.

A woman was distinguished from her sisters and relatives by some individual name; and it is no less strange than true, that of the many causes which introduced a multiplicity of names in the one sex, not one affected the other; the

System of male and female nomenclature entirely different.

woman's particular appellation therefore was almost always singular in its application, and either preceded or followed the name; this, however, was not regulated by any fixed principle. If used as a prœnomen, it usually took the feminine form of names common among men; it might denote certain physical peculiarities or even order of birth; when used as a surname, it either recalled the father's surname or the one that had become hereditary in the family; as, for instance, Julia *Agrippina*, Valeria *Messalina*. In the latter case the prœnomen of the father was placed after the daughter's name, as an indispensable precaution in a case in which the hereditary surname had been given to the daughters of two different parents in the same branch of the family.

A surname might sometimes be a mere term of endearment, similar to those which we commonly lavish on children. Sometimes it would commemorate a great event. In memory of his own successes, which eventually turned out to be disastrous to the world and an outrage to heaven, Sylla surnamed his daughter Fausta.

The surname of a liberated slave was either the same which she had borne during her slavery, or one selected in memory of her native country.

Living as they did in strict seclusion from public life, a Roman woman could receive no name from the public voice. Clodia, however, the sister of Cicero's enemy, and worthy of the same notorious fame that her brother earned, was surnamed Quadrantaria* by the people, in memory of an adventure, which was as galling to her pride as it was indica-

* Instead of a purse of gold, which had been promised to her, one of her lovers (not over scrupulous in the fulfilment of his promises) had sent her one filled with the small copper coin called the quadrans.

tive of her avarice; still this was only a nickname, and was not copied into the public records.

The Athenians passed a law by which it was forbidden to give a child its mother's name. The institution of family names in Rome rendered such a law unnecessary, and would have been inconsistent with the customs of the country. The admirers of Livia sought no unusual thing when they proposed that Tiberius should adopt a surname derived from his mother's name. A woman's name could by law become an agnomen, when arrangements were made, on the occasion of her marriage, that her own name should be perpetuated through one of her children. The agnomen Vespasianus, given to an almost blameless emperor, whose only errors (real as they were) arose from the circumstances and position in which he was placed, was derived from the name of Vespasia, the wife of Flavius. In a similar way, Domitia his wife, gave her own name to her second son, a name more justly abhorred than that of Nero, Caligula, or Tiberius, for Domitian, cool and calculating as he was in his career of crime, was neither led on by the impetuosity of youth, nor by the temptations of a corrupting example, nor again could he plead the excuse of madness, or the more or less specious combinations of his state policy.

Without any special rule upon the subject, a Roman often gave a surname to his son or daughter, which in some way reminded him of their mother; we find this proved in many of their inscriptions. We also find in these same inscriptions that a son, in order to shew some outward token of respect and affection for his parents, frequently recites after his own name, that of his mother, as well as that of his father.

This last observation is of great importance. According

to our notions, the social position of women in Rome was very subordinate in character; their inferiority was caused by a system of civilization, of which we can only form a correct idea by viewing it in its entirety; this system invested the head of the family with absolute authority; notwithstanding which, it is remarkable, that it was unattended by its usual result in other nations, viz., the lowering of the mother's influence in the eyes of her children. We may conclude, then, in this case, as in many others, that the Romans have followed the practice of the Etruscans, who, according to Passeri, used to prefix the word Clan (descended from, or born of) to the mother's name, or would sometimes subjoin to it the syllable al, and so form a great number of metronymic* surnames. Now, the inspiration which both Etruscans and Romans obeyed, belongs to all times, and to all countries. There is a town in France,† where, from time immemorial, it has been the custom to give the mother's maiden surname as a fresh surname to the younger, or the youngest boy.

The Lycians and the Xanthians went farther still; with them, a child took its mother's name; the mother alone, and not the father, transmitted to the child the privileges of free citizenship. The Xanthians account for the custom by saying, that there was once a special occasion on which the prayers of the Xanthian women had procured for their ancestors deliverance from some dreadful visitation inflicted by the divine Nemesis. Larcher thinks that the custom was more probably introduced at a time when regular marriages were not contracted, and children only knew their mothers.

* Compare the inscriptions quoted by Passeri; in his chapter De Metronymicis; in his dissertation De Nominibus Etruscorum, p. 234.

† Montdoubleau. Department of Loir-et-Cher.

On the whole, the principle is a good one, and it is easy to see how wide it may be in its application. In the Swiss Canton of Appenzel, there is a law with respect to illegitimate children, that in all cases they shall take the name and the social position of their mother. In allusion to certain records in which a man is described as Paganus the son of Mary, or more simply still, Peter the son of his mother. Switzerland.

Ducange* conjectures with great shew of probability, that surnames of this kind were given to children whose fathers were unknown. In Rome, when paternity was at all doubtful, the mother's name regulated the child's; at least we may infer this from the case of Nymphidius Sabinus, a man who by some freak of fortune was raised from the very dregs of society to the highest offices in the State, and whose senseless ambition drove him to a rapid fall; he was named after his mother, the courtezan Nymphidia. Rome.

It remains for us yet to account for the fact, that at Xanthus and in Lycia, there still existed a custom after the regular institution of marriage, which seems to be naturally connected with irregular unions. Why should not fathers have shewn themselves there, as elsewhere, jealous of the rights of paternity? If, then, we feel bound to reject a tradition which, like many others, may simply be the mythological account of some real fact, we must place the Xanthians and the Lycians in the same class with the Nadoessians,† who always name their children after the mother, because legitimacy of descent can only be traced on the mother's side. Such also was the principle which regulated the succession to the throne in Peru, and which among the tribes that are settled on the Xanthus and Lycia.

* Ducange—Gloss. See the word Cognomen.

† Carver's voyage to North America, p. 285.

north of the river Congo, makes the high office of Chenoo or governor, a species of hereditary fief in the maternal line.*

SECTION XXVIII.

THE ROMANS BORROWED THE FORM OF THEIR NAMES, AND THE NAMES THEMSELVES, FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ANCIENT ITALY, AND PARTICULARLY FROM THE ETRUSCANS.

What is the origin of Roman family names, prœnomina, and surnames?

Is it true that family names, prœnomina, and surnames were an invention of the Romans? On the contrary, everything would lead us to infer, that those who laid the original foundations of that hamlet which was eventually to become the metropolis of the civilized world, adopted the whole system of their nomenclature, and most of their names from neighbouring nations more advanced than themselves in civilization. Throughout the various parts of Italy which had not been visited by the Greeks, and prior to the conquest of the country by the Romans, historic characters bore family names either preceded or followed by some individual distinction.

In the first rank among these, we have the Samnite warrior who subjected the Romans to humiliating terms at the Caudine Forks; and his father, who vainly advised him either to weaken their power for a time, by the utter annihilation of their army, or to secure their eternal gratitude by an act of unparalleled generosity; to restore them, that is, to freedom with their honour untainted; both of these were named *Pontius*, the prœnomen of the one was Caius, of the other Herennius.

* Report of Capt. Tuckey's expedition to explore the banks of the river Congo. (4to, London, 1818.)

The officer in command at Alba, when Tullus Hostilius succeeded Numa, was Caius Cluilius. When Romulus joined the Sabines to his own people, he received Titus Tatius from them as his colleague. The shepherd's wife who reared him in his youth, was called Laurentia, and had besides the prœnomen Acca, the same name which was given to the fourth King of Rome, Ancus Martius. Romulus married Hersilia, the daughter of Hersilius; his mother was Rhea Sylvia, the daughter of Sylvius Numitor. In the city to which Rome owed her origin, and which the chances of war had made her subject, the use of family names dated from the heroic period; all the kings of Alba, from the son of Æneas to the time of Numitor and Amulius, bore the name of Sylvius, which in each case was followed by some particular surname. When a writer of history wished to indicate the times in which Hesiod and Homer flourished, he would say that the Sylvii then reigned in Alba, just as we should say that the Stuarts once reigned in Scotland, or the Tudors in England. Moreover, there are several instances of inscriptions which have been interpreted by Passeri, and which prove clearly that the Etrurians had names, prœnomina, and surnames, a great number of which are reproduced in Roman names. Like the Romans, too, their women used generally to add one distinguishing appellation only. All these people, but more especially the Etruscans, had formed themselves into distinct nationalities long before the foundation of Rome. We must seek, therefore, for the derivations of these various names in their language, in their customs, and their traditions—in a word, in everything which length of time has made difficult for us to trace, rather than in the Latin tongue, such as it is known to us, that is to say, such as it was spoken many centuries after

the period mentioned. Without undertaking an inquiry which would be one of mere literary erudition, if we understand the meaning of most of the Roman prœnomina and surnames, as well as that which is usually, and with good grounds, assigned to many other names common in Italy previously to their final introduction into Rome, we shall be justified in drawing the inference, that all these names were in the first instance significant, and that they owed their origin to the same sources from which proper names are derived.

SECTION XXIX.

FAMILY NAMES IN ITALY AND ROME—THEIR ORIGIN.

How family names originated and became permanently established.

We may now inquire how these individual and somewhat changeable names became permanently established family names. Italy had not inherited the custom either from the Greeks or the Gauls, who successively occupied the country. Not one of the ancient nations who are supposed to have sent colonies into that country bore family names; there is no tradition of the establishment of so beneficial an institution either by any legislator or by any divinity. Roman names, the only names with which we are well acquainted, are also the only names through which we can attempt a solution of the problem. If we succeed in doing this satisfactorily, we may in all justice apply the reasoning to the rest of Italy, from which the Romans had derived the greater portion of their most illustrious names. Two principal facts will serve as our guide; —1stly, Almost all names are derived from a prœnomen or a surname, the original termination being merely changed into

ius, as Marcus into Marcius; Quintus into Quintius; Posthumus into Posthumius; Geminus into Geminius, etc.

2*dly*, All their names, without an exception, ended in *ius*.*

To quote such names as Peducæus, Annæus, and Poppæus, which were formerly both written and pronounced Peducaius, Annaius, Poppaius, will furnish no valid objection to our argument, for the Romans often wrote the diphthong, which we represent by the two vowels a and e, as ai. It is the mode of spelling commonly adopted in inscriptions, and may be traced from the earliest periods down to the close of the third century of our era.† Virgil, but especially Lucretius, in their musically sounding verses, do not hesitate to substitute the two long syllables a and i for the diphthong æ; so that although common usage had blended the two sounds into one, an older pronunciation, which gave distinct utterance to both sounds, could be tolerated without offence to the most delicate ear.

Were not Norbanus and Cæcina family names?

Norbanus and Cæcina have been instanced as family names by a much and deservedly esteemed writer.‡ They

* Flavus, *Flavius;* Florus, *Florius;* Rutilus, *Rutilius;* Gratus, *Gratius;* Plancus, *Plancius;* Silus, *Silius;* Cæcus, *Cæcius;* Sextus, *Sextius;* Septimus, *Septimius;* Octavus, *Octavius;* Nonus, *Nonius;* Decimus, *Decimius;* etc. *See* Ernesti, Clavis Ciceronia, and Sigonius De nominibus Romanorum. In Gruter's catalogue of names, we also find *Varronius* from Varro, and *Perpernia*, a woman's name similarly derived from the surname Perperna, which was borne by the assassin of Sertorius. In an inscription which is found inserted in the wall of the town-hall at Geneva, a woman's name appears, *Rufia*, derived from the surname Rufus.

† Gruter (Corpus inscriptionum—*passim*, etc.) Observe, 1st, that Gruter writes Vellæus, where we both write and pronounce Velleius; 2d, that Cicero mentions Anneius two or three times, and that he is the same as Annæus.

‡ Encyclopédie méthodique, Dictionn. d'antiquités, art. Cæcina. Schœll, in the fourth volume of his History of Roman Literature, has repeated the mistake.

are, however, nothing but surnames, the one derived from a town, the other from a river in Italy. The former, which was adopted by individual members of various families, was most common to a branch of the Junius family, the head of which had probably been born at Norba, or had chiefly lived there. There is a memorable year in the annals of Rome, marked by the consulship of Cn. Junius Norbanus, the year when the burning of the Capitol seemed but the precursor of further disasters; the year when Sylla's march into Rome was followed by that dismal tribe of public informers, who soon introduced a system of plunder, murder, and proscriptions.

In a like disastrous year, in the midst of all the crimes and fatalities which accompanied the ascent of Vitellius to the throne and led to his fall; in a year when the Capitol was again in flames, the annals record the name of the weak yet ambitious A. Licinius Cæcina as that of the consul elect. I am well aware, that on the authority of certain manuscripts, Justus Lipsius questions the accuracy of the Fasti, and names the said magistrate Alienus Cæcina. But it cannot be denied that the Licinii, like the Scipios, the Metelli, and the Pisos used to add a second surname to the first, for we find characters known in history who went by the name of Cæcina Tuscus, Severus, Largus, etc. This, however, proves nothing against the possible existence of their family name, any more than in the case of the Pisos, the Scipios, and the Metelli. Ernesti does not hesitate to give the name of Licinius to the Cæcina, for whom Cicero pleaded; and Pliny tells us that the father of Posthumius Licinius Cæcina, unable to bear any longer the sufferings of an incurable disease, put an end to his existence by taking poison.

Far then from being a family name, the surname Cæcina

did not belong exclusively to the family of the Licinii. When Gracchus was induced by his impatience of control to commit the gravest of errors, and while thinking he should achieve a momentary triumph for the people's cause, simply ruined it to its very foundations by the example he gave his adversaries of attacking the inviolability of the senate, the tribune whom he caused to be removed from office was named M. Octavius Cæcina. Various inscriptions tend also to prove that several families had borne the same surname; we have an instance in C. Lecanius Bassus Cæcina. There are some cases of family names which are clearly derived from the surname, and other cases of an agnomen, which in its turn is derived from the surname. In some of the Etruscan inscriptions Passeri found Cecinna used as a surname, and Cecinnius as a family name; they are both derived from the word Cæcus, which signifies blind—a name which was as common in Etruria as it was in Rome.

I shall venture to suggest another etymology. In the territory of Bruttium there flowed the river Cæcinus, which gave its name to the town Cæcinum. Near Vollaterræ the small stream Cæcina still retains the name it bore in the time of the Romans; now, as several persons named Cæcina were natives of Volaterræ, Dempster is of opinion that their family may have given their name to the river; I believe, on the contrary, that the names of the two rivers originated the names of the men in question.

The termination ius explains the origin of all the names that end so. It is well known that in the Latin tongue the form ius is equivalent to the genitive case of the noun, and implies possession or descent. Its value is precisely similar to that of the letter s in English when it is placed with the

The termination ius implies descent.

apostrophe after a substantive or a proper name. Evandrius ensis is the same as ensis Evandri, just as in English Evander's sword is the same as the sword of Evander. We have already seen that in almost every case the father's name supplied a distinctive title for the son; but instead of using the genitive as the Greeks do, and understanding the word son, the Italians used an equivalent termination natural to their own peculiarities of idiom, and the son of Posthumus added to his own individual and distinctive appellation that of Posthumius.

The form of the possessive adjective, and consequently of the patronymic surname, varied according to the ending of the root-word. Romulus gave the title of Patres to his senators, and ordered that their sons should be called Patricians. Patricius being derived thus from pater, we may by parity of reasoning infer that from Umber, *i.e.*, an inhabitant of Umbria, the name Umbricius is derived, and Fabricius from Faber, a word which in Latin (like its more modern French equivalent Fabre, Favre, Faivre, Fèvre) meant not so much an artificer, as a man who was remarkable in any kind of occupation for skill and ingenuity.

But how could those prœnomina which originally terminated in ius come under this rule? The absoluteness of the rule triumphed over the difficulty by the addition of an intermediate consonant, and from Publius was formed Publilius; from Manius, Manilius; from Servius, Servilius; from Lucius, Lucilius, and from Caius, Cailius or Cælius.*

Some of the names which had been regularly derived from the father's individual name, might sometimes retain their individual character sufficiently long to allow of their giving

* Sigonius. De nom. Rom.

rise to other patronymic surnames; this must frequently have happened in early times, before a system of family nomenclature had been properly introduced. In this way, from Quintius arose the name Quintilius; from Sextius, Sextilius; from Genucius, Genucilius; from Cæcius, Cæcilius, and by substituting either of the consonants D or N for the L, we may derive Titinius from Titius, Cassinius from Cassius, etc., and from Fufius we have Fufidius, and from Gratius, Gratidius.*

Great simplicity of such a method of forming names.

Nothing can be more simple than this method of forming a surname; nothing in itself so indifferent; nothing probably so unpremeditated at first; but its advantages became obvious at once. Instead of the genitive case which the Greeks invariably used, it presented the appearance of a real name, capable of assuming a masculine or feminine termination, and of being regularly declined; such, in a word, that it could be given to a daughter as well as to a son; to one child or to many, and such, moreover, that it could be used by itself, and without any further individual distinction, sufficiently comprehensive therefore to describe all the children of the same father, and consequently in every sense of the word a family name.

When once the custom of joining it to the individual name had been established, it could hardly become obsolete, even after families had in some way or other been dispersed, and it was sufficient to prevent the alteration of names in each generation. There were several circumstances, however, which contributed to the production of the same results. Even after their marriage, sons were in subjection to their fathers, and still continued to reside with him; however numerous the family might chance to be, the paternal roof sheltered one

* Most of these names are quoted in Ernesti's Clavis Ciceroniana.

single family, which from the name of its head received one which was common to all its members. After two or three generations had, as it were, consecrated the use of this name, it would have been difficult to introduce a fresh one in its place.

Names begin to assume an hereditary character.

When a father gave to his son his own proper name, he seemed to live again in that son's person; in a case like this, the patronymic did not alter for the grandson; and thus an element of permanency led to an early hereditary form of nomenclature. Some Roman families affected a liking for the surname from which the patronymic was derived; hence in the Fasti we not unfrequently meet with the names Julius Julus.

Because connected with some high office,

Even if they did not avail themselves of the modes we have already mentioned, men of any recognised position could easily make their titles hereditary by recalling the name of some ancestor dear to the memory of the people; a species of denomination, this, which was deemed more honourable still if it was not derived exactly from the name itself, but from some title of respect; the descendants of a priest (flamen), or of a high-priest (pontifex), looked with pride upon the names of Flaminius and Pontificius.

Or from ambitious motives.

Feelings of ambition led some men farther still; and if it ever happened that by means of some ancient tradition a descent could be traced from one of the old heroes or from one of their supposed deities, the patronymic which implied this was for ever retained. Many such names have reached us—Cluentius, as Virgil says,* claims descent from the hero Cloanthes; Halesus was said to be a son of Neptune; from his name (which is a most appropriate one for a sailor) came

* Æneid, lib. v., v. 122-3.

that of the Alesian family, a number of whose monuments were discovered by Passeri; the name of Anton, the companion of Hercules, was reproduced in the family of Antonia, who claimed him as their head; the Fabii pretended that they were descended in a direct line from Hercules, and derived their name from Fabu or Fabiu, a word which Passeri interprets *August, Venerable*, and which, among the Etruscans, was an epithet frequently applied to Jupiter, the father of Hercules. Neptunius was the title given by Horace, in irony, to S. Pompey, when that presumptuous youth, proud of having gained a naval victory, proclaimed himself the son of the ocean god.*

A long time elapsed before they *did* become permanent.

The permanency of a patronymic designation does not depend merely upon the will of the bearer, and more especially among a people where the art of writing is but sparingly introduced. In such a case the practice may be suggested, but cannot be made general; it could only have been through lapse of time, and the natural desire of imitation which pervaded all ranks of society, that the use of hereditary names became general. This will explain what Varro states somewhat too generally —that the Romans, before they intermixed with the Sabines, had only one name. And yet, during the war which preceded the union of the two people, we hear of Spurius Tarpeius, who was intrusted with the defence of the Capitol, and of Hostus Hostilius, who commanded the army which the Sabines succeeded at first in routing. But in the case of all that crowd of men who gathered round Romulus, in hopes of plunder or impunity from past offences—men of no reputation and no family—it is quite possible that many were only recognised by some individual appellation; the example,

* Horat., Od. lib. v. Od. ix., v. 7.

however, of their fellow-citizens soon led them to the adoption of a patronymic.

As individual names and titles denoted qualities or offices which might be common to many, patronymics may, in the first instance, have been derived from them, for families that were strangers to each other, and who lived in a totally different grade of society. The facility which was afforded of disguising low birth, and of inventing a noble ancestry for ambitious plebeians was too natural a consequence of these resemblances in names not to cause alarm to the patricians; hence arose the feeling of an early necessity for distinguishing men by surnames, and further, for making those surnames hereditary.

If the explanation of these minor points agree with the solution of the general question, and add, as we hope, to the greater probability of its accuracy, we were right in asserting at first that chance and not premeditation had led to the introduction of patronymics in Rome and in ancient Italy. It was simply a question of the genius of the language. A termination which the language allowed, and which frequent use altered slightly from time to time, introduced that beautiful invention which would have done honour to the keenest intellect of a great statesman. So little did the Romans understand its intrinsic value, that even while they enjoyed it, they failed to appreciate its advantages, either wholly, or at least to such an extent as to prevent its gradual decline and ultimate extinction.

SECTION XXX.

HOW THE SYSTEM OF ROMAN NOMENCLATURE BECAME FIRST CORRUPT AND THEN OBSOLETE.

DURING the reign of Alexander's successors, Greek names had spread to the borders of the Nile, to the Euphrates, the Orontes, and to the very heart of the sandy tracts which surrounded Palmyra. Three centuries later, the then known world affected to be Roman. When none of the reasons already enumerated conferred the right of bearing a Roman name, the inhabitant of Africa or Sarmatia would give a Roman termination to his own national name. One of the epistles of St. Cyprian is addressed to Jubaïanus; an inscription discovered in Transylvania is dedicated to the remains of Verzovia Saturnina; in the one case we recognise a Sclavonic title which reappears in the present name of the capital of Poland, and in the other an agnomen derived from the Numidian name Juba. A motive of ambition, or a feeling of pride, might induce a Roman citizen to place the name of the tribe to which he belonged between his name and his surname. Similarly, when the rights of citizenship no longer secured admission to the Roman tribes as a matter of course, foreigners placed the name of their country in the same order. This was especially the case amongst the liberated slaves, for by thus recalling the land where they were born free, they seemed to throw the blame of their condition upon that freak of fortune which had subjected them to slavery.

It was only natural to suppose that such customs would be lasting. Brevity, however, is the soul of the language of proper names; it should be possible to name the individual

Inconveniences of a multiplicity of names.

as quickly as he is perceived. And how contrary to this was a long series of titles, consisting of the prœnomen, the name, the hereditary surname, and the individual surname, to which might still further be added an agnomen. It was thought a very small thing to add to these the prœnomen of the father, the grandfather, and the great-grandfather, and, over and above all, the name of the tribe to which a man belonged; if through any adoption a man changed his position from one tribe into another, he did not fail to record the name of the one he had left, and of the new one into which he had been adopted. This was clearly too much even for inscriptions. In the ordinary familiar intercourse of life, men would limit themselves to the use of the surname and prœnomen. From the regions of conversation, this necessary abridgment soon passed into general currency in correspondence, in public addresses, in literary narrative, and lastly, in the public records and Fasti. Doubts as to the real existence of several family names have been caused by this habit of abbreviating, surnames being constantly substituted for names. When every man was sufficiently well known by his surname and his prœnomen (at least, in his own circle or sphere), no present inconvenience was experienced; it only loomed in the future. But was the future so little thought of by men who, like the Romans, were so fond of fame, so imbued with the idea of the importance of names, and so anxious to perpetuate them?

Abbreviations became necessary in consequence.

Their result.

We are taught here a great moral lesson. We see pride defeating its own purposes, throwing into the shade what it wished to render more brilliant, and through excessive precaution that one man should not be mistaken for another, positively rendering confusion inevitable.

Accordingly, confusion commenced at once: such was the fruit of which pride had sown the seed.

When some great man had granted to foreigners, or to liberated slaves, the honourable privilege of bearing his name, he no doubt thought he was merely extending his influence as a patron over numerous clients, whose deferential homage he secured by such a grant; whereas he was unconsciously conferring upon them a title which it only required time and wealth to bring into prominence. Complaints were soon heard here and there against men of low origin, whose similarity of name made them bold to claim kinship with some noble or patrician family. Similarity in names increased; surnames which revealed a servile or foreign origin disappeared rapidly, for no doubt imposition became more frequent in proportion to its facility.

Ancient traditions still offered some little opposition to this aggressive element, preserving as they did in every family of distinction the remembrance of its genealogies and matrimonial alliances.

The commonwealth crumbled to pieces; the majority of the illustrious families perished in civil disturbances or were included in the proscriptions; some gradually became extinct through having fallen victims to the jealous cruelties of the emperors; their names and their hereditary surnames were seized upon by a shameless and licentious usurpation. The emperor Claudius, in order to check these enormities, attempted but in vain to enact or revive a law upon the subject; the execution of the law was an impossibility. The barbarians themselves were enrolled in the legions, and suffered to rise to high military rank, to important civil offices, even to the throne, and soon usurped the names of the ancient defen-

ders of the city; thus did they pay an involuntary homage to those brave men of old by their wish not only to appear to be their successors but their descendants. Constantius Chlorus usurped the names of Julius and Flavius; and the flatterers of Constantine invented a genealogy for him by which they wished to make people believe that the illegitimate son of a soldier whose fortunes had led him from the mountains of Illyria to the foot of the throne, was descended from Vespasian, from Julius Cæsar, from a posthumous child of Æneas, and from Lavinia.

Treasured titles, which when usurped are soonest lost, are such as are founded upon public opinion. A man may give away or lay violent hands on riches or power, but he cannot touch the public estimation, which is essentially mixed up with a name or title; the esteem in which the name had been held seems to glide through his fingers and leaves behind it a name or title, certainly, but prostituted and valueless.

Irregular multiplication of names.

In order to enhance the apparent value of adoptions and illustrious alliances, patronymics were multiplied; three were frequently assumed, and sometimes even four. At a time when nothing could stem the onward rush of mere whim and caprice, a son would bear a name which his father had not borne before him: brothers had no common appellation. Although, therefore, the Roman system of a multiplicity of names was preserved, its disadvantages alone were retained without one single benefit.

As might naturally have been expected, this was soon generally felt. As early as the reign of Trajan, we find several cases of consuls designated in the Fasti either by their surname only, or by their agnomen only. No doubt their name and prœnomen were well known at the time, but the

indifference manifested with regard to their insertion shews that they were almost abandoned.

Why all at once every name but one was suppressed.

There was another cause which may have hastened this suppression of names, viz., a desire to throw into oblivion a family name that was not deemed sufficiently illustrious. Agrippa is an instance in point.

Tired of the name Vipsianus, which reminded every one of his low origin, he intentionally omitted it in all public acts and inscriptions. Such a trait of pride and littleness of mind seems truly characteristic of the man who merely became a victor to bring himself and his country into slavery to another people; he stands before us the true model of such men as are created to be slaves, with great talents and greater ambition, but no greatness of soul; excellent viziers for a usurping monarch, the very bane of free states. The high position of Agrippa did not save him from the well-merited raillery of his contemporaries; but it served as an encouragement to his imitators. In the second and third centuries the Fasti shew us an increasing number of magistrates who seem to have none but individual names. At last we have some difficulty in finding any whose names remind us of the ancient form of Roman nomenclature.

In the case of unimportant names, neglect was more rapid still. Among the signatures to the Epistles written by St. Cyprian in the name of the principal members of his church, several persons who bear the same surname, Saturninus for example, distinguish themselves from one another by the word *another*, and *another again*, rather than use Roman names and prœnomina, which would so easily have prevented all confusion.

The example of the Greeks must have had some influence

The Greeks never changed their names even in foreign countries.

upon the customs of the Romans, with whom they intermixed all over the world. They never altered the form of their names. When a Greek became a Roman citizen, he still continued to be recognised among his own countrymen by his Grecian title only. When the seat of government was removed to Constantinople, and a Greek empire had in reality been formed, although it was still called the Roman Empire, it was natural that the national custom should prevail, and it soon extended to the monarchs themselves. Like their subjects, the emperors ceased to be known by family names. The title of Flavius, which they so commonly bore, was only a title like that of Cæsar or Augustus, and these titles also disappeared in their turn. Constantine Porphyrogenetus, in the work which he dedicates to his Roman son, assumes no such titles himself, nor does he give them to his son. Moreover, he mentions none of the many persons of whom he speaks by any title indicative of Roman origin; one might almost fancy that he had written his work from the midst of a people who were utter strangers to ancient Rome. The Heruli, the Gepidæ, the Goths, the Huns, the Franks, and the Sarmatians, suddenly rushed down from all sides upon the empire. As enemies, or as mercenary troops, they caused the East to tremble with alarm; as conquerors, they ruled the West. Like their ancestors, scorning to usurp names which in their eyes were degraded by defeat and subjection, they crowded the annals and the Fasti with their own national titles. Even in Italy, the old Roman names, those names so dear to history, gradually disappeared, and at last were utterly lost. The history of Rome had in reality long ceased to exist.

SECTION XXXI.

CHRISTIAN OR BAPTISMAL NAMES IN EUROPE TAKE THE PLACE OF INDIVIDUAL NAMES.

Christian names, and when introduced.

WE may now lose sight of the confusion, which, having arisen among proper names in the latter days of the commonwealth, increased daily during the reign of the emperors, and at last reached its climax at the fall of the Western Empire.

Some think it probable that our system of names succeeded immediately to the Roman system. The baptismal name, taking the place of the prœnomen, was followed, it is said, by the family name ; and to this there was often joined a surname, which originally served to record either the place of birth or the usual dwelling-place, the name of the mansion or of the real or imaginary manor. In order to establish the complete resemblance, it may be observed that the surname has frequently caused the family name to disappear, and usurped its place. But notwithstanding the plausibility of such arguments, it is only an apparent resemblance by which an apparent connection is established between two facts which, in reality, have nothing whatever to do with each other, and which are separated by an interval of many centuries. This is not the first error of the kind that has been made in the study of the history of civilization.

The nations who founded so many kingdoms upon the ruins of the empire, some fortunately endued with a temporary stability, others destined to be gradually dismembered, and eventually destroyed, the Franks in Gaul, the Saxons in England, the Goths, the Suevi, and the Lombards in Italy and

Spain, all introduced individual names and those only, in the seat of their conquests.

The family of Theodoric, who were justly proud of their first hero Amala, were wont to reproduce his illustrious surname in most of those which were borne by the various members of the family; hence we have, Amalaric, Amalasonte, Amalafride, Amalabergue, etc. Cassiodorus* tried to designate the dynasty to whose service he had devoted himself by the name of the Amalas, and Jornandès† remarks that the Visigoths and Ostrogoths were always subject, the one to the Belthers, the other to the Amalas. Both he and Cassiodorus were endeavouring to revive old institutions with which they were familiar themselves, amongst a people to whom those institutions were utterly foreign. No prince joined the name of Amala or Balther to his own individual name, whereas several who were in no way connected with the family of Amala bore names which recalled his, as, for instance, Amalongus, lance-bearer to Grimoald, king of the Lombards. The form of names adopted by some of the descendants of Theodoric, only serves to confirm the observation I have already made‡ respecting several of the Scandinavian names; this first step towards the adoption of family names was not followed by a second.

A Sclavonic tribe would furnish us with a more decisive and surer test, if it were true that the descendants of Leck, the first chief of the Sarmatians who settled in Poland, all took his name when they succeeded to his rank.§ But it is

* Cassiodor. Varior., lib. viii., ep. v.

† Jornandès, De rebus Geticis, cap. xix.

‡ See section XX.

§ Matthias de Michovia. Chronicon reg. Pol., lib. i., cap. ii. and iv. Jodoc. Ludov. Decius, De Vetust. Polon.

more than doubtful if such was the case, and moreover a matter of positive certainty that it was the name of a people who had long been called Leckites, or people of Leck, by their neighbours. If any of their chiefs did bear the name, it was not used as a family name, but simply as the distinguishing title or appellation of the people or tribe over which he ruled. When the founder's family became extinct, the absolute power of one man was for some time followed by a species of oligarchy, and from that period, although historic records were more accurately and more strictly kept, they contain nothing that can possibly remind us of the adoption of hereditary names. We may therefore safely infer that, in the eighth century, on the banks of the Dniester and the Vistula, as well as in the rest of Europe, there were none but individual names—names which left to personal interest or personal ambition either the care of religiously preserving, or the power of intentionally altering a genealogy.

Individual names restored.

When individual names had been restored in civilized Europe by the various peoples under the dominion of the Empire (by Greeks, Asiatics, and Africans, almost as much as by the more northerly tribes), it became evident, that before they gave place to a new system of nomenclature, consecrated as they were by long use, and many a well-cherished association, they would have to be absorbed by some other principle stronger than usage, and more binding than mere association, viz., the religious principle.

Victorious in every persecution, and ever advancing in power amid all the heresies that rent its bosom, a new religion was gradually being established. If viewed merely from the secular point of view, it is the most important event in its results (as they bear upon the past and the future), which, so

far as we can judge, has ever effected the destinies of man. Appearing first in a remote corner of Asia, and though for a time obedient to Roman sway, Christianity vanquished Rome herself. When it had once become the religion of the empire, it further conquered those who had been Rome's victors; hence both barbarians and Romans were from that time known by Christian names.

Use, however, daughter of time, resigns to time alone the influence she has received from him; and that influence never works more consistently or more steadily than in the case of proper names, which identify themselves with our individuality, and our whole life. To the present day, it has resisted the encroachments of Islamism amid the very sands that cradled it, and Bedouin Arabs seldom bear a name derived from the creed of Mahomet.

The Christian church begins to regulate the giving of names.

The Christian church had long manifested a desire that the names of her adopted children should be drawn from her sacred records, and consecrated by herself, and yet the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, amongst whom her earliest examples of saintly piety had lived, and who might therefore have been thought likely to yield more readily to her wishes, were long before they obeyed with perfect docility. As to the class who were called barbarians, they clung with greater obstinacy, as might reasonably have been expected, to names which were not only common in their native country, but which were ennobled by many an exploit of their ancestors.

Unsuccessfully at first.

In the fourth century, St. Chrysostom complained most eloquently of this determined resistance to the wishes of the church.* St. Gregory the Great, at the close of the tenth cen-

* Homil. xiii., in Epist. ad. Corinth.

tury, attempted to put an end to the custom by changing what had hitherto been a mere recommendation or piece of advice into a formal command. The precept, however (which may be found in the Sacramentarium), was not generally complied with. This can be proved by the names of the Kings of Lombardy, and of Spain, the Emperors of Germany, and the Kings of France in the tenth, and even in the eleventh centuries. The names of St. Hugues and St. Robert were but little known in those days, and that of St. Charles not at all; St. Henry had not been dead twenty years when the first king of France, who bore his name, reigned; St. Louis, the Bishop, lived after the king of the same name.

The clergy persevere in their efforts to Christianize names.

Nevertheless, the persevering efforts of the clergy were destined to be crowned with success. The sacrament which reopens an entrance to heaven for fallen man, had not always been accompanied by the giving of a new name to the neophyte who sought regeneration in the saving rite. For a long time men waited till death was near before they put on the white robe, and asked to be baptized, with a view to ensure certain escape from those pollutions which they might have contracted had they continued to live. For a long time, and fruitlessly too, did the church condemn the worldly calculations of such men as would only renounce a vicious course of life with life itself. But later on, when the fear of being overtaken by sudden death (before the sacrament of baptism had been administered) began to prevail, it was only natural that the same holy fear which parents experienced for their own state, should extend also to their children's spiritual welfare. Tears were shed over those who had not only died prematurely, but had at the same time been excluded from the kingdom of heaven. Hence the church began to sanction infant baptism;

Infant baptism.

yet that sacrament was only administered twice during the year, at the festivals of Easter and Pentecost, whereas the naming of the child took place as of old, on the eighth or ninth day from its birth. From the foregoing remarks, it is easy to see that the common custom would have been but very little affected by the religious innovation, but for a practice, which, arising as it did in the earliest days of Christianity, had gradually been much extended by the force of several concomitant circumstances.

Origin of sponsors.

The Christians were suffering from persecution at the hands of the zealous followers of the older creed; now, when a new convert presented himself, who might, for aught they knew, be a traitor or an informer, they insisted upon the following rule, viz., that a Christian known to themselves should guarantee the genuineness of the candidate's conversion and the uprightness of his intentions. The surety became a godfather or godmother according to the sex of the neophyte.* Persecutions began to decrease, but the form which had been introduced by the requirements of the age was retained, and seemed to have become all the more necessary from the fact, that when children were admitted to the rite of baptism, long before they could understand the creed they were one day to profess, the godfather and godmother became sureties before the church and before God for the due instruction of the child, and for his submission to the true faith; thenceforth they became his spiritual father and mother. Such a spiritual adoption was supposed to create a new relationship sufficiently close to prevent marriage between the persons, and further, imposed upon a godfather the duty to

* There were sometimes several godfathers or godmothers for the same convert. This was considered a great honour.

protect and love his godchild as his own son: whenever the ceremony of adoption took place, it was made a religious celebration, and presents were made to the child through the parents—presents which varied in value according to the position of the givers. In some cases, people availed themselves of such an opportunity from interested and avaricious motives, and added to their means by the skill they displayed in securing a number of wealthy sponsors for their children.

The system of sponsors very similar to the old Roman adoption.

We may remark here, that in many respects this adoption was very similar to that which had been common among the Romans. It seemed, therefore, almost a matter of course that the sponsor, who combined the rights and duties of a father, should give his own name to his godchild, or, at any rate, select that which he was to bear: this could not be done without a religious service of some kind; hence the church frequently interfered in the choice of a name. Popes and bishops considered it an honour to be the sponsors of princes and persons of high rank; nuns long deemed it their duty to fulfil the same office in the case of children abandoned by their parents; and both, no doubt, allowed few opportunities to escape when the church was endeavouring to make the practice general. At last, when the rite of baptism was administered without regard to any particular day or time; when parents were taught by the clergy to believe that they would be held responsible for the salvation of their children if they deferred that important ceremony, the giving of a name became an essential part in the matter; it was then thought necessary that the name should receive the church's blessing, and be selected from the number of such as the church reverenced most. The name would thus be a standing

witness, throughout the child's life, of his having been placed under the protection of so holy a patron.

The adoption of saints' names progressed but slowly.

If the custom of adopting saints' names became at all general, it was not without long and continued opposition. Kings and princes, however devoutly disposed they might be, clung to those national names which the people were accustomed to revere. Men in power, too, realised that inward feeling, that the name is identified with the person who bears it, and would have been loth to mix themselves up with the vulgar herd in so essential a respect. If men fancy themselves different from others—a peculiar race—they will choose a peculiar class of patrons. Such was the notion which obtained amongst the aristocracy of Ragusa, if it be true that laws were enacted by the state forbidding the adoption of too highly distinguished names by the wives of the common citizens, names, *i. e.*, of which the patrician ladies alone were worthy.

In the absence of any special rule upon the point, custom pandered to the pride of such eminent characters. Hence, in modern history, we find such names as Diana, Phoebus, and, more extraordinary still, Vulcan.* The last-mentioned was the prœnomen given to the son of a count of Furstemberg; and a king of Servia latinized his national name in a similar way. *Hermes* Bentivoglio was concerned in the assassination of *Agamemnon* Marescotti, in 1501. *Ulysses* was the prœnomen of the naturalist Aldrovandi, and his father's name was Theseus. Charles Palæologus, in 1204, ceded the govern-

* Vulc or Vulcan, son of Simeon, ascended the throne in 1198. The writer of the book on the liturgy and language of the Goths (De Liturg. et Ling. Got.) is designated in the title-page by the name of Bonav. Vulcanus.

ment of Acarnania to his three natural sons, *Hercules*, *Turnus*, and *Memnon*. It was not thought improper that a woman should be named *Dea*,* as may be seen from her epitaph in one of the principal churches in Venice.

The progress of these innovations was not equally rapid in all countries; for whereas in France the rule seems to have been almost without exception at the close of the eleventh century, it was not adopted in Germany until about the middle of the twelfth, after the triumph of the popes over the emperors in the quarrel respecting the investitures;† some say it was as late as 1245, when the German language began to be written in Roman characters. Date at which they began to prevail.

In the United States, and in Ireland, it is very usual to give a child the name of some person or family with whom the father is on terms of friendship or intimacy. To a name which will long be remembered in history, that of Dr. O'Meara, was joined the name of Barry in remembrance of an Irish peer.‡ The same custom prevails in Italy, where it was more common formerly. In the fifteenth century, Lillus, a merchant of Ancona, whose family had received many benefits from Amurath and Mahomet the Second, shewed his gratitude to the Ottoman princes by calling himself Othman-Lillus. In our own days, a deservedly-esteemed author, M. Bartoli, received the old family name of Bandini as a Christian name. Faithful to their old traditions, the modern Greeks, when they baptize a child, still choose his name as frequently from the old histories as from the legends of the past; hence we find

* Dea Morosini, wife of the doge Nicholas Trono, died in 1478.

† Goldast. Antiq. Alaman., vol. iii., p. 93.

‡ Barry, Lord Avonmore; Barry E. O'Meara: A Voice from St. Helena (2d Edit., 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1822), vol. ii., p. 246.

such names as Miltiades or John, Mary or Penelope. Ulysses may still be seen in the foremost ranks of those brave heroes who are seeking to re-conquer the noble land of their birth.

SECTION XXXII.

WHY IT SOON BECAME NECESSARY TO ADD SURNAMES TO CHRISTIAN NAMES.

Moral effects of Christian names.

CHRISTIANITY which taught men to consider themselves equal in the sight of God, made them equal during their lifetime upon earth, so far at least as the identity of the name with the individual allowed of it. A similarity of names seemed to bring certain people into closer communication with each other, who in society had been separated by wide barriers. The most powerful baron, the lowest serf, the bitterest enemies, answered to the same name, and at the feet of the same God offered their prayers to the same intercessor. More than once, perhaps, had this similarity of names, this species of brotherhood, touched proud and vindictive hearts; more than once had it lessened the distance which resentment or pride had created between men who were so soon to meet again on a footing of perfect equality and never-ending peace. If such had been its effects, religion would have attained her end, for it tended to make men more moral and more holy, without touching the question, whether these new names had failed or been successful in producing sufficient distinction.

If a thoughtful man had simply consulted the volume of our sacred legends, he might have been led to hope that the new institution would be as serviceable under the civil as it undoubtedly was under its religious aspect. Experience did

not justify the expectation. Notwithstanding the great number there exists of saints' names, but few were selected for general use; their constant repetitions soon led to confusion, not only in the same classes of society, but in those also which were farthest removed from each other. Our readers may judge of the confusion which arose from an event that occurred in Lithuania in 1387. When Ladislas Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, had embraced Christianity and ascended the throne of Poland, he made an attempt to persuade his former subjects to follow his example and abjure the national creed. The warriors and grandees were baptized separately, *i.e.*, one by one; but the bulk of the people were divided into groups. The priests baptized an entire group at a time, and gave the same name to all who composed the group; in the first, all the men were named Peter, and all the women Catharine; in the second, the names were Paul and Margaret, and so on. Each of these newly-made Christians was therefore obliged to add some distinctive title to the name he had just received.

Instances of great confusion in Christian names, and its cause.

A similar result ensued when, as in the older, so in these more recent social arrangements, a father transmitted to a son the name he had himself borne, in order that he might, as it were, live again in him. So general was this desire, that in some cases it had given birth to a lasting custom, and in the Azores we find that the eldest son always took his father's baptismal name.

We might have imagined that such cases as these would have introduced a number of Christian names for each individual, in order that their varied combinations might do away with the need of surnames, and so render confusion impossible. Such an idea would be erroneous. A plurality of names was only adopted from a pious expectation of multiplying the

child's patron-intercessors with the Almighty; an expectation that was encouraged by the Catholic Church, which allowed the addition of fresh names at confirmation; an expectation, moreover, which in Spain and Portugal led to the adoption of so many names that they became a burden to the memory. Note here, that many baptismal names strung together, are in the end as little distinctive as one. The religious feeling which suggests their selection is liable to fall into the same system of combinations, and naturally fixes upon the names of those patrons who are objects of special reverence in each country; one or two of these names can hardly fail to become hereditary in each family.

Relationships, social observances, and even party politics issued in the like results. A Scotchman, who had been an enthusiastic admirer of the Stuarts, had fourteen sons, each of whom was named Charles Edward, in honour of the Pretender.

Although we may be disposed to grant that in the sacred rite of baptism religious feelings should be allowed all the latitude they claim, that nothing should be curtailed from a legitimate compliance with the wishes of a father, or a mother, a sponsor, a friend, or a guardian, it is still to be wished that in an act which in the eyes of society establishes the date of birth, and becomes the foundation of the social status, one name only should be used, and moreover, that it should be so selected as not to belong to any other member of the family. Then would the baptismal name, restored to its true position, distinguish each member of the group which the family name unites. That the contrary plan burdens an essentially concise language with proper names, is one of the smallest of its disadvantages; gradually a variety of combinations which should have led to more accurate distinctions has made that dark

which should have been clear, from the great facility which it affords for the introduction of errors, if it does not actually produce them. We can hardly realize what annoyances have been caused to children by that system of a multiplicity of names. If one be omitted, or if their order be inverted in any deed of importance (and how frequently this may occur through the error of the copyist), what endless and needless trouble will be entailed upon the bearer of the names until the error be recognized, and even then what a number of formalities must be gone through before the error can be rectified. Painful disputes, interminable delays, serious lawsuits, and consequent losses of fortune have been caused solely by some such circumstances as these in many of the common transactions of social life.

Names should be regulated by the legislature.

We know this, we realize it daily, but until the legislature shall have spoken authoritatively upon the subject, and shall have so brought our present system of nomenclature to a greater state of perfection by remedying its present deficiencies, few men will be found bold enough to incur the risk of being called singular, or dare to brave the tyranny of custom.

Inconveniences which are now so generally felt, were probably but little experienced by those with whom an imperfect civilization had produced but few social and connecting ties. There was one, however, which is not in any way felt by ourselves, and yet one which must have been of daily occurrence amongst men who were accustomed to individual or significant names. New names were almost always derived from foreign languages, and originally suggested by some religious notion which had nothing to do either with the appearance, the rank, or the disposition of those who bore them, hence they simply represented syllables that had no

meaning, or at least that conveyed no associative idea, and recalled no individual peculiarity. When this want of definiteness in individual nomenclature had once been fully experienced, it became necessary to make a difference between people who had received the same baptismal name, and to invent new surnames, so we read in history that surnames increase in the same ratio with baptismal names.

Customs among the Greeks.

At one time, in Greece, the termination "pulo" or "poli" was extensively adopted in the sense of "son of," *e.g.*, Stephanopoli, son of Stephen; Romanus Arguropulo, son of Arguros; sometimes to public offices, as Paul, the silence-producer, Michael, the keeper of the palace; sometimes again they might refer to a man's native country or to some personal peculiarity, as John of Cappadocia, John the Eater, John the Hunchback, John the Bearded, etc. Because they had originated in the requirements of the age, surnames were frequently the only titles employed. One of the generals of Alexis Comnenus, and the writer of a book in which we may find many curious details on the subject of the civil and religious customs, *i.e.*, on the ceremonial and general etiquette of the Eastern empire, are respectively known by the names Bempeziotes and Curopalates; the former name is derived from the place where he was born, the latter from his office. I am disposed to think that a like explanation may be given why the famous wonder-worker Theodorus (who raised the dead body of Basil the Macedonian's son) was always mentioned in history as Santabaren, a name which had probably been borrowed from Santabaris, the place either of his birth or his residence. When the barbarians were converted to Christianity, the children of the Franks who were born in the Grecian Church usually received a name which was common

to many of the members of that church. But names which were liable to be mistaken for Grecian names could not long exist among them, inasmuch as they felt for the Greeks in general the same contempt which foreign soldiers always feel towards those whose interest it is to hire them, and who choose rather to pay for being defended than to defend themselves. The majority, and those more especially who were in any office, were glad to adopt a name which reminded their brother officers, their rivals, or their enemies, of their origin. Hervé, a Norman captain in the service of Constantine Monomachus was surnamed Francopulo by the Greeks. Later on in history the same surname was given to a favourite of Michael Palæologus, who was accused of conspiring against that prince, and to a dignitary of the court of John Palæologus, both no doubt natives of the west. Constantine, a leader of the French mercenaries hired by Alexis Comnenus, was scarcely known by any other name than that of Umbertopulo (son of Humbert). The same reasons which led men to select such names in the ordinary course of life were sure to act upon their choice of baptismal names, and the more so as they were derived from a foreign language, and were therefore all the more essentially distinctive.

In the west, towards the close of the tenth and the commencement of the eleventh centuries, *i.e.*, about the time when baptismal names, becoming more and more common, ceased to indicate any distinction in the ranks and conditions of men, we find that surnames, as a matter of course, were gradually introduced into the public records, and that a great number of them were used as distinctive appellations until the close of the thirteenth century. So common had their use become that the prince whom we know by no other name

than that of the Conqueror, entitled himself at the head of one of his own proclamations, "I, William, surnamed the Bastard."

By degrees, however, even this mode of remedying an inevitable confusion became inadequate; the commonest surnames, those I mean which were derived from physical or moral peculiarities, habits, professions, place of birth, etc., might perchance be given to a variety of individuals who already bore the same baptismal name; this increased, instead of diminishing, the inconvenience, hence it became necessary to effect a complete change in the system of names. In many ways and for many reasons, circumstances combined to favour such a change. If I say that in order to judge of its value, we must examine carefully the condition of the Christian world, from the close of the ninth century to the commencement of the twelfth, the producing causes may seem far greater in importance than the results which I may attribute to them. Still, let it be borne in mind that it is frequently more easy to dethrone a powerful dynasty or to devastate a flourishing country than to change the well-established customs of a people.

SECTION XXXIII.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE RE-INTRODUCTION OF FAMILY NAMES IN EUROPE.

CHARLEMAGNE, who was a man in every respect vastly in advance of the age in which he lived, had re-established the Western empire without benefiting either his own country or his family—the imperial sceptre which had proved too

weighty for the feeble hands of his successors had soon fallen from their grasp, while history records at what cost of misery and shame, and amid what difficulties they had retained the crown of France for barely two hundred years. Insolent vassals, who were ever adding to their own treasures the ill-gotten wealth of which they had stripped their sovereign, rose gradually higher and higher, upon the very ruins of his power; after twice trying their strength in an endeavour to remove the reigning dynasty from the throne, they succeeded at last in compassing its overthrow. The one who placed the crown upon his head was forced to do all in his power to conciliate the jealousy of those who had so recently been his equals, and by the very fact of his elevation (for which he was indebted to their suffrages) he consolidated (ostensibly at least) the independence of the grandees of the kingdom, at the very time that he was secretly plotting their downfall, which was so successfully carried out by his successors.

Temporal power of the Popes begins to increase.

Dazzled by the brilliant title which a frequently contested elevation to the throne conferred upon them, the emperors of Germany, instead of strengthening their position at home, where it was seldom universally acknowledged, sought to extend their influence abroad. Blinded by a foolish ambition, they made for Italy; and in Italy, the successive falls of the Western Empire, of the Goths, and of the Lombards, the decline of the Eastern Empire, together with the sudden weakening of the empire of Charlemagne, made it possible for the spirit of liberty once more to raise her altars, and secured to the Roman Pontiff that preponderance of temporal influence which he was endeavouring to establish by every political artifice and by every religious device in his power.

Among the many schemes to which the Popes had recourse

Papal schemes.

in order to accomplish the end they had in view, the most powerful perhaps was that mingled spirit of piety and chivalry which led the whole of the warlike population of Europe to the plains of Palestine, and more or less to overrun the whole of Asia.

What did the crusaders find in that great ruin which still went by the name of the Grecian empire, which they were successively to alarm, to serve, to conquer, and to parcel out amongst themselves? Princes of abject weakness, except when plotting a crime to gain the crown; a people enfeebled, empoverished, and discouraged, who trembled at the very name of the Islam warriors; no one to defend them but foreigners, Armenians, Scythians, Sclavonians, and even Franks, whose more than doubtful services and uncertain fidelity were purchased at the price of gold.

Whilst the impetuous bravery of the crusaders was performing its glorious achievements in Palestine, and sought to re-establish the kingdom of Jerusalem on foundations far too weak to support it, France raised a prince* to the throne, whose character has never been duly appreciated until a recent date, although the results of his prudent foresight have never ceased to operate beneficially, not only upon the civilization of his own country, but on that of Europe generally; a king who realized the fact that true political greatness can have no other foundation than justice; that to curb the restless ambition of his nobles, citizens only should be employed, and that the independence of the throne can only be secured by the freedom of the people.

We must now refer to each of these points in succession.

* Louis-le-Gros, chosen to be king during his father's lifetime, took the reins of government in 1102, and began at once to put a stop to the depredations of the great vassals.

SECTION XXXIV.

FIRST, HEREDITARY DIGNITIES AND ESTATES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the proclamation of Clovis the Second, and the general wish of the nation, the more important offices in the State, and the higher military posts, had, as a matter of fact, been almost always hereditary since the close of the first dynasty. Concessions which had been extorted from the feeble Carlovingian race, usurpations which the gradual decline of their dynasty had made all the easier; in a word, all those things which an energetic sovereign under favourable circumstances might haye either recalled into existence or caused to be utterly abandoned, were one and all rendered legal by the accession of the third dynasty. "Who made thee a count?" said Hugh Capet to one of his unruly vassals. "The same that made thee a king," was the reply; an answer more pregnant with meaning than all the charters that might be quoted. We must not judge of the guaranteed stability of matters in general from the concessions of a ruling monarch, or from the enactments which a more enterprising successor may have modified; we must rather build our opinions upon the intimate connection that exists between the established order of things and the title of the ruling power. That which at first had only been an office or a reward for military service had become a title implying possession; and the possession in its turn became one *of right*, an inalienable property, the great estates of hereditary principalities.

The higher dignities almost always hereditary during the second dynasty.

The system is confirmed during the third.

For some time the usual surname adopted by persons of high rank had been that which designated the office they held, or the name of their most valuable estate. When the son

succeeded as a matter of right to the property or the dignity, he also succeeded to the surname, and in his turn transmitted it to his heir. Hence it became a true patronymic title soon to be admitted into regular and common use. This reminds us of what was remarked respecting the Etruscans, viz., that the introduction of family names naturally commences amongst those who stand highest in a nation.

When Charles the Bald decreed that royal grants, whether of lands or public offices, should be handed down in regular succession to the sons of the then holders, he reserved to the monarch the right of choosing, out of a number of sons, the one that should succeed to his father's dignities. It was the right of the lord paramount of the manor, in consideration of the property that was in his gift; it was also the right of the manorial lords, who chose their sovereign from among the sons of the deceased monarch. Notwithstanding this clause of reservation, which the weakness of princes was constantly nullifying, it followed as a matter of course from this perpetuity of tenure, that the rights of the eldest son and of primogeniture were introduced among the French. The eldest son succeeded to his father's titles, whilst the younger branches took the names of the several manors which fell respectively to their share; custom sometimes retained the name even after their fortunes had changed. French historians, but those of Greece more especially, do not call Raymond IV. count of Toulouse, which he only became after his brother's death; they always describe him as the Count de St. Gilles, that distinguished man, whose character and virtues alone marked him out as a fit mediator between the emperor Alexis and the Crusaders; an office in which he did all he could to prevent or to heal the constant breaches that existed

The rights of primogeniture are the natural result of the system.

between the Latins and the Greeks, and in which, moreover, he obtained the confidence of both sides, in spite of their mutual mistrusts.

This custom does not militate against what I have said respecting the institution of family names. As the manor was handed down to the junior branches, in case the elder branch became extinct, the name reverted to the junior with the property, and it was not long before pride of birth, no less than the anticipation of their eventual rights, made the name common to all the children of the same father.

Like the grandees of the land, and sometimes on better grounds (for some of the second and third-rate manors were freehold, and had been voluntarily enfeoffed), the nobles were privileged to take the names of their manors. Now, this custom caused considerable confusion at a very early date; the charters in the tenth century, and towards the beginning of the eleventh, often recited the same individual under different names; sometimes because he had lost the manor which gave him his title, sometimes because he had come into possession of another the title of which was more flattering to his vanity. But when all properties became equally well settled in their tenure, the nobles, anxious to proclaim their alliance with the grandees of the land, began to hand down systematically to their children the name of the oldest or richest property they possessed, and from that time the name was never lost, even though the property from which the name was derived should chance to change hands.

Confusion caused by territorial names.

SECTION XXXV.

SECOND CAUSE—THE CRUSADES—EMBLEMS OR ARMORIAL BEARINGS—CANTING ARMS.

Most of the Crusaders from France.

IT was more especially from warlike France that all those Crusaders swarmed, of whom the few that were left, who had escaped famine, the enemy's traps, and the results of their own disorderly conduct, amounted to no inconsiderable number. What a sudden change came over the mode of life of the nobles who constituted the greater part of the army. They lived no longer in days when the time was spent in fighting paltry battles for mere feudal rights; days when the lord of the manor, confined within the narrow bounds of his property, or at most of some province, needed no other distinction than his rank, family traditions, or a few surnames, to know and be known by all his neighbours.

Want of distinctive names is much felt.

A warlike nation had gathered together beneath the standard of the cross. Individual names, and the majority of surnames, which were common to many persons at the same time, proved insufficient. The reason which everywhere creates and increases the number of names, viz., the necessity for accurate and distinctive recognition, was intensely realized. Patronymic titles, as Mézeray remarks, were rare, and as yet but a recent institution. The state of things then prevalent made them more common, and the names of manors were adopted more frequently than they had hitherto been. Those lords who had sold their properties in order to defray the expenses of their military expedition, were deprived of their titles, and accordingly, they found other modes by which they could be recognised, in the emblems painted upon their

shields and their banners; stirring emblems which were almost worshipped by their retainers, who, as they followed them devotedly, felt confident of earning either a brilliant victory or a glorious martyrdom.

Origin of armorial bearings.

The invention of armorial emblems is connected with the language of signs, which, in the opinion of the philosopher of Geneva,* is the most forcible of all languages; it belongs to all periods, and can be traced in all nations. In Greece, where a wild boar's hide, carved upon a monument, sufficed to indicate that the man whose ashes were deposited beneath it, had borne the name of Meleager,† like the conqueror of the Calydonian monster. In America where the natives draw the figure of the animal whose name they bear,‡ for a signature to the treaties they make with Europeans, and where the warrior expresses the number of his victories, or announces the enemy's advance, to his countrymen, by a few notches in the bark of a tree. We who, from our childhood and throughout life, have been accustomed to ordinary written characters which leave nothing to the imagination, can have but little idea of the force of expression which may have existed in emblems. It was quite a different thing when, in olden times, writing was looked upon as a mysterious art, only practised in the schools of the church, in king's palaces and philosophers' retreats; hence we may infer what it must have been in the days of ignorant enthusiasm that prevailed during the earlier crusades. From this point of view, then, we must examine all those emblems that were pictured on the numerous banners that floated from the bristling forest of lances in the Christian army. We must

Force of emblems in earlier days.

* J. J. Rousseau—Essay on the origin of languages, ch. i.

† Anthолog., lib. iii., cxxv., epig. 71. Edition of Eilhard Lubin, 4to, 1604.

‡ Weld's Voyage to Canada, ch. xxxv.

not imagine that mere caprice regulated their adoption; there was no law certainly to dictate the choice that should be made, but it was always suggested by some great event to be remembered, or some great hope of future exploits.

Emblems at Tournaments and in battle.

At tournaments or in battle, a knight used to present himself with closed visor, none knew him otherwise than by the symbol he wore. Hence that sign became a designation or true surname, which was never allowed to be lost when once some glorious achievement had been associated with it. The tales of chivalry that were written in the tenth century are full of such instances, and in this respect are good authorities, for they accurately record details of national customs which were prevalent when the tales were written, customs too, which history has omitted to notice.

Not necessarily hereditary.

In the earlier times, a son was not obliged to adopt an emblem though his father had rendered it illustrious; he too, perhaps, was eager to surround with honour the sign he had chosen for himself. In the case, however, of a father or a brother who had fallen fighting for the cross, the glorious inheritance was seized upon with avidity by his successors on the plains of Palestine; had the paternal banner been changed, a man would have been in danger of remaining unrecognized by his vassals or his rivals for honourable distinction. History tells us expressly that about this time many of the crusader chiefs attached the symbols they had adopted to the whole of their family, till the names derived from these symbols became like the symbols themselves, permanent and hereditary.

Such is the origin of canting arms. If viewed in any other light, they simply supply matter for puerile inquiry; on the other hand, it is quite natural that arms should have to do with names, for the name clearly proceeds from the arms.

Results must have been the same everywhere; when, in the twelfth century, we find in the history of Poland the families of the Roses and the Griffins mentioned, we may fairly conclude that they both took their names from their armorial bearings, for those names did not remain in existence long, and patronymics had not been introduced at that time in Poland. When they had settled in Sweden, many noble families adopted the system I have just mentioned of their own accord: the family whose armorial bearings represented the head of an ox, took the name of Oxenstiern (like the well-known Front-de-Bœuf); another took the name of Sparr, from the chevron which was the most important part of their arms.

Nomenclature is everywhere similarly affected

It must be remembered, however, that in this, as in many other instances, the same custom alternately takes the place of cause and effect. Sometimes the arms have suggested the name, sometimes the name has led to the adoption of certain arms. The latter was more especially the case when new patents of nobility necessitated new armorial bearings. Of this kind we shall only quote one example, that of a family whose name has been immortalized by the most musical of poets that can be compared by modern writers with the older ones. In allusion to their name the Racines had originally placed in their coat of arms a rat and a swan, (Rat-Cygne); the writer of Athalie retained the swan only because the rat offended his taste;* and thus because it affected him individually, he restored the language of emblems to its original representative truth.

* Letter from Racine to his sister Mademoiselle Rivière, 16th January 1697. There is an engraved portrait of Racine still extant, which also contains a shield and his arms, surmounted by a knight's helmet; the swan only is depicted on the shield, underneath is the following inscription,—Jean de Racine, de l'Académie Française.

SECTION XXXVI.

THIRDLY, INSTANCES ADDUCED FROM THE IMPERIAL FAMILIES OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The example set by the reigning families of Constantinople may have been followed by many.

THE force of example is proverbial. Thus, European warriors may have been induced to transmit their names to their children because they had found the custom prevalent not only in the reigning family of Constantinople, but in many others equally distinguished. The innovation, however, was of modern date; it would be difficult to instance any hereditary names in the lower empire before the close of the tenth century; even as late as the fifteenth, history fails to indicate any hereditary principle in names except in a few solitary cases; individual surnames were the rule. The former of these instances proves (in accordance with the principle which I have laid down), that family names were not re-introduced until after the time when Christian names had begun to be used; and from the latter we may fairly infer that the re-introduction was not effected by any progress in national customs, but that some foreign element must have interfered. In order to trace its origin with any certainty, it would be necessary to go into the question of genealogies, which has always been a fertile source of error, in proportion as it is examined with a view to the fostering of avaricious or vain motives. It will be sufficient for our purpose, if we select for examination the two hereditary names that were most frequently quoted, in their day, in the annals of the lower empire, viz., those of the Bryennii and the Comneni.

In the first place, Lascaris states, that although formerly known by the name of Comaini or Comani, the Comneni

received that surname on the occasion of a great victory, which one of their ancestors had won over the Comani, in 469.

Examination of the name Comneni.

For a long time surnames intended to recall a victory had only been given to persons of imperial rank; moreover, they were more simply and more regularly formed. Justinian, for instance, did not entitle himself Vandal, Frank, or German, but Vandalicus, Franciscus, and Germanicus. The statement of Lascaris is therefore inadmissible, and since neither he nor modern genealogists say anything about the descent of the Comneni, or of the continued existence of their name down to the tenth century, we may safely infer that the name was first introduced towards the close of the tenth century, in the person of the Emperor Isaac's father.

This father was Manuel Comnenus, Prefect of the East in 976, if we may give credit to the account of Cæsar Bryennius, the husband of Anna Comnena. Now Isaac ascended the throne in 1057, when Catacalon, under the plea of old age, refused to assume the supreme power; Isaac must therefore have been in the prime of life; say that he was forty-five; then he and John, his brother, must have been born more than thirty-five years after the time when Manuel was in authority as Prefect of the East, a most important position, and one which implied long and tried service in the public officer who held it. The thing is not utterly impossible, but it is highly improbable; it is far more likely that Bryennius, from some wish to conceal the true origin of his wife's family, endeavoured to make the Greeks believe that it was more modern than it really was, and more national. Besides, his account does not agree with that of Lascaris, who says that Nicephorus Comanus or Comainus, prince of Astra-

cania, was the father of the Emperor Isaac, a man who was famed for the good services he had done to the empire, and for the ingratitude he had met with in return, at the hands of Constantine Monomachus. Nicephorus was the son of Isaac Flavius; from the addition of this name, Lascaris infers the pretended right of the Comneni to trace descent from the family of Constantine, but Bryennius, son-in-law to the Emperor Alexius, neither speaks of the relationship nor does he allude in any way to the name of Flavius, which is supposed to belong to the Comneni.

The two historians contradict each other, both as to the name and position of the Emperor Isaac's father, and neither of them assigns to the Emperor's grandfather the name into the origin of which we are inquiring; in point of fact, when Nicephorus bore it, it had not undergone the alteration which had changed it from Comanus into Comnenus. From this we may infer that the name was a perfectly recent one, and that Nicephorus himself was the first who had done anything to make his family illustrious.

The Comani or Comans, called Cumans by Russian annalists, were a Sclavonic tribe; they were living on the borders of the Euxine Sea, when, in the ninth century, they joined the first expedition of the Russian inhabitants of Kiev against Constantinople. After the treaty of peace, which terminated the campaign, the Cumans were baptized. Who then, a century later, was the Prince of Astracania, that is to say, the prince of a territory which formed part of the country of the Comani? Simply, a Comanian chief, who retained the name of his people,* and joined it to that of Nicephorus, which

* Comania, in Asia, bounded by the Caspian Sea, Circassia, Muscovy, and Georgia. It would be difficult to give a better descrip-

he had received at his baptism. That the same origin may, 500 years earlier, have given the same surname to a Sclavonic warrior-chief is possible, but there is nothing to prove that the two belonged, in any way, to the same family, or that the name Comanus had from that earlier period become hereditary. It really did become so in the eleventh century, at a time when the Comani, sometimes as allies, and sometimes as enemies, began to play an important part in Byzantine history. Nicephorus handed down a name to his descendants, dear to his fellow-countrymen, and dreaded by the nations who had required his services; he left them at the same time his armorial bearings, an emblem well known among the Comanian warriors, seven small bells on a golden shield. Lascaris, who is the very one to tell us of this peculiarity, adds that an eagle argent on field azure was the emblem adopted by the house of Constantine, and by that very circumstance contradicts what he had said before of the connexion between the family of Comnenus and that of the founder of Constantinople.

Derivation of the name Bryennius.

In the second place, the name Bryennius is not a Greek name. It belongs to a language whose dialects may be traced in Wales, in Ireland, in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Lower Brittany, and which 800 years ago was the language of the whole of Brittany, and most certainly supplied a great number of words to all the idioms of the rest of France. Breyen or Breyenhin signified king or chief.* In 1084, a Bryennius was constable-general of La Pouille and Calabria; he

tion of the district south-west of the old kingdom of Astrakhan; hence we have followed the author already quoted, who says, "Prince of Astracania" in preference to the Latin translation, where we read, "Aspracanicæ Princeps," no doubt a misprint.

* Richard's Welsh and English Dictionary, under the word Brehnin.

was grandson of Alain the third, Duke of Brittany; he does not seem to have had anything in common with the Bryenni of Greece. One of the oldest Irish families is that of O'Bryen, literally son of a king. Nicephorus Bryennius, the first who made the name famous in the East, is found named in 1051 as heading an army which was wholly composed of foreigners, all commanded by officers who were natives of the country to which they belonged, and Frenchmen formed the majority. Let the meaning of the name Bryennius, and the care which the Grecian emperor had taken that every division of the army should be commanded by an officer chosen from the particular nation to which the troops under his command belonged—let these circumstances, I say, be compared with what we have remarked on the origin of the Comnenian name, and with the host of Sarmatian, Scythian, and Armenian names, which from that time appear in conjunction with baptismal names in the Byzantine annals, and we shall recognise in Bryennius a chief of the Franks (a native of Brittany or England), who had engaged himself in the service of the empire, and having been naturalized under a Greek name, did not reject the title given him by his fellow patriots, but, on the contrary, was proud to hand it down to his posterity as a proof of his position and his origin.

The example of two great families, who both had disputed the right to occupy the Byzantine throne, and one of which had occupied it for more than a century, was not likely to be without imitators. The principle of inheritance which changed surnames into patronymic titles was no longer limited to names derived from foreign languages. Greek prœnomina—such, for instance, as Palæologus—became virtually family names. Yet, true to its origin, this custom did not extend

beyond the narrow limits of a few powerful and ambitious families.

SECTION XXXVII.

FOURTHLY, THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF LANDS, MANIFESTING ITS RESULTS MORE SLOWLY IN GERMANY THAN IN FRANCE.

What influenced the growth of hereditary names in Germany?

Like the French, the Germans had taken part in the Holy War. Like them, too, they had witnessed the endeavours made by the first families in the Grecian empire to render their fame lasting by the permanent fixedness of a name. The short-sighted and exorbitant claims of the emperors, together with the secret policy of the princes by whom they were elected, either because they were objects of dread or fit subjects for plunder, and the crafty ambition of the popes who had become their rivals—all these things combined, had tended to shake the throne of the successors of Charlemagne, and in a territory more extensive and more parcelled out than that of France, these various circumstances had tended to second the efforts which the vassals were making to secure their ultimate independence. The need of protection, and a desire to gain nobility, made men anxious to change their freeholds into hereditary fiefs. Surnames taken from these manors increased rapidly. Although they had emanated from the same source in both countries, family names were not adopted as soon in Germany as in France. Surnames founded upon physical peculiarities, took their place in the twelfth century. It was not till the reign of Philip of Swabia, that they gave way to the names of properties, and even these at first had not that fixed character about them, without which they could not possibly become hereditary. The history of those times is

often full of difficulties, because the same individual is mentioned by different names in contemporary chronicles of events.

The slow advance made in the introduction of Christian names as a substitute for national names, will account for the corresponding tardiness manifested in the spread of family names. Here, however, I think we may trace another actuating principle which had some influence in creating a desire among the nobles, to distinguish themselves by permanent names—a principle, moreover, which the progress of civilization in France developed much more rapidly than in Germany.

In France, the class of men who had formerly been free, and not owners of properties in fief, had gradually disappeared; but we must not attribute this wholly to a desire for noble rank, or the wish to be infeoffed. During the long periods of anarchy and rapine, which are so shamelessly described as the ages of chivalry, the nobles, who alone carried arms, had easily reduced to submission all who were weaponless. Then arose those lordly rights, sometimes revolting in character, sometimes absurd, but always offensive, which, when described in detail, have often been doubted, notwithstanding the authentic documents which might be brought forward as positive evidence.

The nobleman girt with his sword was sufficiently distinguished from an unarmed multitude without lands and without freedom. By the enfranchisement of the lands, Louis-le-Gros once more created a class of free men. The fear of being mistaken for any of those obscure citizens increased, and the nobles felt a correspondingly greater need for family names. A name which reminded the bearer of the manor, or

the family arms was all the more satisfactory, because it could only belong to a nobleman. Hence, also, names of this kind continued to distinguish the ruling caste, even after the desire of imitation, and the fortunate results of the land enfranchisements had led the commoner sort of people to adopt hereditary names.

State of parties in Germany.

The position of the German nobility was different. If we find that cities or boroughs had been raised to a species of freedom as early as the tenth century, we shall also notice that it was only in a few solitary instances, and even then not in a manner calculated to bring the commonalty into closer contact with the nobility. The enfranchisement of a town did not involve that of its inhabitants; in the free city of Nuremberg, the nobles ruled over the rest of the population like kings. It was during the time of the great interregnum that the commoners in Germany began to acquire important rights. They were probably indebted for them to certain cities which entered into union with each other by federal treaties, and to the increasing influence of commercial industry, two causes which had already contributed to the strength of the Hanseatic League, whose alliance was anxiously sought for by the German towns, at the same time that they were endeavouring to follow its example. There were other circumstances which combined to favour the movement; blinded by the general thirst for gold, power, and vengeance, the feudal tyrants were tearing each other to pieces, instead of firmly rivetting the chains of their own captives; every pretender to the imperial throne used to grant a number of privileges to the free towns, in order to secure their support, and these, a more successful competitor did not dare to withdraw, through fear of increasing the number of his enemies. We may fix

this as the date when hereditary names became permanently established, first among the nobles, and next in the lower classes of society.

In order to appreciate the value of the observation which attaches so much importance to the enfranchisement of landholders who were not noble by birth, let us glance at what was going on in the rest of Europe.

SECTION XXXVIII.

FOR THE SAME REASON, FAMILY NAMES INCREASED RAPIDLY IN ENGLAND — WERE INTRODUCED INTO POLAND BY THE CHANGE FROM AN OLIGARCHY TO AN ARISTOCRACY.

Tenure of land in England.

IN England, the victorious Saxons had brought with them their feudal institutions, but the lands which they made beneficiary were few in number. In all the rest, the victors simply took the place of the vanquished; immense properties became attached to the king, and to the Thanes or principal officers in the state; they farmed them out to substantial tenants, who again let them to sub-tenants for cultivation. In the case of the Saxon lords who sided with Harold, William the First confiscated both the properties, and also the lands which had formerly been beneficiary, but which had been converted into real property by the usurpation of the holders. He distributed them as fiefs, in the strict sense of the word, among the Norman warriors who had followed his fortunes. Consequently it was hailed as an immense boon, when, by the statute of Henry the First, in 1100, the fief tenure was changed into real, *i.e.*, freehold property. This concession, however, produced no great increase in hereditary names. How could

those haughty barons have felt any desire for them, when they were on the point of making royalty succumb to the influence of the aristocracy? I grant that the names of some Norman families (the Percys for instance) are common to them, and to other English families who date from the Conquest. If the names belong to the same date, their hereditary nature might, in France, have been a consequence of the hereditary character of the property. Moreover, so long as the Duchy of Normandy belonged to the reigning house of England, the families that were settled in either of the two countries were not more divided from each other than they are now, when they simply live in two different provinces; the name, therefore, that had been selected by the head of the family, and had reached a state of permanency, easily became common to all the members of the family, whether they resided in England or on the continent.

Though property becomes freehold, hereditary names do not increase, at first.

In 1160, Henry the Second enfranchised the land in order to counterbalance the ambitious attempts of the barons. Soon after, hereditary names are quoted over and over again in all historical accounts. If it were necessary to give proof that, up to that period, they had been of rare occurrence, we might remind our readers of the fact, that we are obliged to describe the dynasty, of which Henry the Second is the first representative, because there was no family name in existence; he was named after his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, just as the third dynasty in France was named after Capet, the surname of its founder.

That system of policy which even in the nineteenth century regulated the nature and distribution of properties in the Highlands of Scotland, and which gave place very slowly to confiscations in Ireland (*i.e.*, to those usurpations which

were practised by the English), and to the progress of quite another kind of civilization—that policy, I say, even when it had been generally established in both countries, had not led to the institution of hereditary names.* Commercial intercourse with England, a state of servitude dignified by the title of Union, and last of all, a subdivision of property more in accordance with the recent forms which civilization had assumed, introduced them by degrees. The greater part of these names, and those even which can undoubtedly be traced back to periods beyond the earliest records of ordinary history, are names which imply descent,† and which have more or less recently become permanently established names. So true it is that antiquity of character and influence, or, in a word, of nobility, is quite independent of what we, with our national idiosyncracies, should have deemed inseparable from it, viz., antiquity of hereditary title.

The same remarks apply to Poland.

The same remark is equally applicable to Poland. Not until the fourteenth century, and even, perhaps, later still, do we find any of those names which at once imply noble rank and deeds of daring—names which in all ages must have been foremost in the annals of a country. When Poland became Christian, she adopted Christian names, but, like the foreigners who had enlisted in the service of the Lower Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Poles in the fourteenth began to use their native title in addition to their Christian

* For an analysis of this system, and the results of its abolition in Scotland, see Lord Selkirk's work, entitled, "Observations on the present state of the Highlands of Scotland." (8vo, London, 1805).

† The initial syllables, O', Mac, Fitz, imply descent; the son of a chief (of a Bryen), and the man whose father was named Donald, may several times have received the names of O'Bryen or Macdonald before those names became permanently fixed.

names. Jagellon, duke of Lithuania, and afterwards king of Poland, did not forego this name, by which he is best known in history, when at baptism he received that of Vladislas. In the deed by which, in 1413, he created his brother Duke of Lithuania, the newly-created duke is constantly spoken of as Alexander alias Witwoldus.* Some of the signatures appended to this deed by the highest in rank in the land exhibit instances of the same customary formula. The greater part may be traced to some surname derived from the father's name, or from the emblem † which each house had already adopted. Not one of these surnames continued to exist long, so small was the importance then attached to hereditary names; but we begin to distinguish one‡ which was, as it were, struggling into hereditary existence, and yet which never became a family name. This, at first, may look like a paradox, but it is none the less true. When the emperor, Henry V., was exhibiting his treasures to Scarbek, the Polish ambassador, in hopes of striking him with awe of the power and greatness of his wealth, the proud magnate drew a ring from his finger, and threw it amid the heaps of treasure amassed before him. "To gold," said he, "let us add gold."

* Alexander alias Witwoldus. A deed executed in 1499, in which he is mentioned, recites in a similar manner, the name Vladislas alias Jagello. (Jacob. Prilusii, De Provinciis Poloniæ, etc., cap. i., art. i.) The Duke of Bohemia, who fought on the side of the emperor Henry V. against Boleslas III., king of Poland, joined his national title of Sventopolk to the name of Conrad. (Martin Cromer, De origine et rebus gestis Polonor, lib. v., c. ii.)

† The Griffins (griffones) and the Sea-cat (catus-marinus). For an account of the emblems which were adopted by the ancient families of Poland, and the surnames derived from them, which subsequently made way for the introduction of family names, see Martin Cromer, De situ Poloniæ, lib. i.

‡ Habdanyecz, son of Habdank.

"Habdank!" (thanks) replied the disconcerted emperor. The surname Habdank was given to Scarbeck, and his descendants were proud to retain it.* Later on they adopted a true family name, which was Konski.†

How family names were introduced in Poland during the fifteenth century.

In the course of the fifteenth century, and almost suddenly, most of the names which are now in common use were introduced. Was their simultaneous introduction, to which we feel inclined to assign a single originating cause, the result of the enfranchisement of lands, as in the cases of France, England, and Germany? Unfortunately not. Had it been so, the importance of the change would have kept the Poles on a level with the general progress of European civilization, and saved them from misfortunes which led them at last to the greatest of all; still their introduction was caused by a very similar event. The grandees in the land had up to that period been the sole directors of state matters, and for nearly four centuries had (by their proximity to regal power) guided the prince by their counsels (if they had not done something more), that very prince whom they themselves had elected to occupy the throne. Submitted as they had been, compulsorily, to oligarchic rule, the rest of the nobility had as yet obtained but very trifling privileges—so trifling, in fact, that they had no influence whatever in public affairs. Now, in 1464, a scarcity of money was experienced, and they were applied to. They were summoned together in the form of small diets, and the members who attended these, were allowed a seat in the national assembly. The opportunity of having a share in the government of the country was embraced with avidity,

* Martin Cromer, De origine, etc., lib. v., c. ii. Matthias de Michovia. Chronic. Polon., lib. iii., c. ix.

† Martin Cromer, De origine, etc., lib. v., c. ii., et de situ Poloniæ, loco citato. Note that in Cromer's works the name is written Choinski.

especially of enjoying that share with those whom they had helped to gain it, and in 1514 the administration of the state was vested in a democracy of nobles, if such a term can be allowed. As all the nobility were from that time equal in political rights and privileges, those families who still retained in public opinion the higher prestige of a power and influence that had been consecrated by an older tenure, adopted hereditary names in order to make this their greater distinction imperishable. To frustrate this scheme the other families adopted a similar course. Whether they were owners of a palatinate, a city, or a hamlet, it mattered not which, they all, with scarcely an exception, took the name of their manor, and turned it into the permanently fixed name, which they bear to this day.

SECTION XXXIX.

FAMILY NAMES ADOPTED BY THE NOBILITY OF THE CRIMEA AND RUSSIA.

In the fifteenth century we find that permanently fixed names in what was ancient Tauris, were used to distinguish the principal families among the victorious Tartars. The great pride of the Crimean nobility is to be able to trace their names and descent to the times of Tchinggiskan; but neither the descendants of Tchinggis, nor those of Timour, had ever known anything of family names; not one can be found in that long catalogue of Tartar chiefs and princes who play so important a part in the history of Asia. Towards 1479, when under the protection of the Ottoman Porte, Menguèly Gherai Khan founded the kingdom of the Crimea. Just as the Emperors in Rome had taken the surnames of Cæsar and

System of nomenclature in the Crimea.

Augustus, so the successors of Menguèly joined the individual name Gherai to their own. Nearly allied to the throne, and all thinking they possessed equal right to fill it whenever a vacancy occurred, there were five rival families, to each of which the state allowed certain definite duties in the administration of the sovereign power. Each family affected to practise the same ceremonial forms, and to possess the same household officers as the king; each in like manner would be anxious to add permanency to its name. Next to these came the nobles, the chiefs, and feudal proprietors, of more or less numerously constituted groups of vassals; one of their families was in some way connected by certain peculiar privileges with the five other houses, and all endeavoured, by the names they adopted, and by their general habits, to narrow the distance which separated them. Hereditary names must very soon, as a matter of course, have become very general, and the more so because each of these names already described one of the Kabilés, or groups of vassals that belonged to each noble family, and corresponded with other subdivisions similarly distinguished by proper names, which constitute the nomenclature of the four great hordes of Nogais Tartars.

A very different state of things in Russia.

Nothing similar could have occurred in Russia. In the Crimea there was a feudal aristocracy; in Russia a despotic rule, in which the nobility was never strong, except when the monarch was weak. The genius of commerce, that great worker of miracles, had caused the light of liberty to shine upon Novgorod, but Novgorod, deluded by the spirit of mercantile enterprise, called in foreign aid to defend her, and soon discovered that she had only introduced her oppressors. Rurik, the chief of a party of Varagian freebooters, founded the throne of Russia. On that throne, which had been stained

by the bloody scenes enacted amid the dissensions of barbarian princes, and which had borne the humiliation of two centuries of slavery to the Mongols, a fierce autocracy was at last established. Kings over their own vassals, or rather over their own slaves, the Boyars were in their turn the slaves of the Czar. All, it is true, manifested the most scrupulous care to preserve their genealogies pure, and the senate being constantly called upon to settle differences caused by the desire to be pre-eminent, had determined to keep records of the arguments for the correctness of their decisions, but the differences of the people only extended to the right of approaching the sovereign master in the most honourable manner.

A long time elapses before Christian names become common in Russia.

Only one of the reasons we have assigned for the reintroduction of family names in Europe could affect Russia, viz., the adoption of Christian names, and it was a considerable time before they took the place of the Sclavonic titles. The people clung to them with affection, and the Varagian princes, who had willingly adopted their use,* not to appear foreigners among their own subjects, were in no way anxious to exchange them for others. Isiaslaf the first, who was named Dmitri (Demetrius) at his baptism, was only known in history by his national name. The same rule was observed in his successors down to the time of Ioury the first (George), and notwithstanding the example he set in 1149, the majority of these princes bore Sclavonic names for a hundred and twenty years.

In all those countries where Christian prænomina were used, surnames were common. Ioury I., and his son Andrew, the two earliest Russian princes who bore Christian names while on the throne, are also the first who received *individual*

* The grandson of Rurik received a Sclavonic name, Sviatoslaf.

surnames, the one being surnamed Dolgorouki (Long-hand), and the other Bogolioubski, after the city Bogolioubof which he had founded.

Terminations of names, *itch*, *of*, and *ef*.

I said *individual* names intentionally; for the predecessors of Ioury and his subjects had, for some time back, borne surnames which were common to many, names which are equally frequent in our own day; they are formed by the addition of the termination *itch* to the individual name, or the father's prænomen.* A second kind of surname recalled the grandfather's† name by means of the terminations *of* or *ef*; and as this applied to many members of the same family, it was well adapted to furnish them with permanent names; hence we find that it has furnished the majority of Russian names. Fedor-Nikititch, grandson of Romanov, was surnamed Romanof; the Czar Mickhail III. (Michael) retained it, especially in his intercourse with foreign travellers, and at last it became the patronymic title of Peter the Great's family.

The terminations which are added to a grandfather's or a father's name, are susceptible of assuming a feminine form, and so of indicating the sex of the persons named, as well as their origin. This form, therefore, contains the same advantages that Roman names enjoy. Why then did it not originate hereditary names in Russia as well as in Rome?

Simply because there was no need for any such names; custom was against them, a custom so powerful in its influence that at the present day when family names are common, their

* The invention of surnames of this kind is attributed to Vsevolod I., the son of Iaroslof, who adopted one himself, and desired to be addressed as Iaroslovitch, but the same termination may be traced more or less in all the Sclavonic dialects.

† Nikite Romanovitch Iourief, son of Romanov, grandson of Ioury; Fedor Nikititch Romanof, son of Nikite, grandson of Romanov.

introduction has not sufficed to abolish the practice of addressing a person by his prænomen, followed by the surname which indicates his father's name. Thus the Japanese had heard no names used but those of Nicholas Alexandrovitch and Gabriel Ivansvitch, to designate two Russian officers, who, in 1805, made a serious attack upon some portion of their territory without the slightest provocation; they were afterwards astonished to hear Golovnin* describe them by their family names, Chvostof and Davidof.

Old hereditary names in Russia are of foreign origin.

The oldest hereditary names in Russia are most of them of foreign origin. The Golitzin family, who trace their descent from the Jagellos, imported their name from Lithuania, and the Narischkins from Bohemia; the Scheremetef, Soltikof, and Repnin families, are originally natives of Prussia; the Kourakin and Troubetzkoi from Poland; the Boutourlin from Baden, etc. The name Tcherkaski reminds us of the Tcherkessians, amongst whom they had formerly held a distinguished place. Some names are the titles of manorial properties; while others, like that of the Dolgorouki, were originally surnames.

It is remarked by a historian, whose accuracy of observation has never been impugned, that in 1584 there were many noble families that had no proper names. Some of them adopted their use during the first half of the seventeenth century, influenced by the political, civil, and commercial intercourse which was beginning to be established with foreigners; but it was in 1681 that an unforeseen change in the tide of events inspired the whole of the nobility with a desire to make their names hereditary.

In a solemn assembly of the most influential amongst the nobles, held under the auspices of the religious authorities,

* Voyage de Golovnin, vol. i., pp. 190-192.

Arbitrary measures to produce equality among the Russian nobles.

the Czar Fedor Alexievitch ordered all the pedigrees belonging to the noble houses, and the registers that had been kept in the Senate House, and which might have supplied their places, to be publicly burned. In the new registers which were commenced by his orders, those names only were inserted which he chose to allow. It was his intention, he said, to make all the nobles equal, and thereby put an end to their interminable quarrels about precedence, which interfered materially with the public service. Something, however, of a more designing nature may be traced, I think, in Fedor's schemes. A century and a half earlier, the infant son of Ivan Vassilievitch was a mere tool in the hands of the Boyars; more recently, they had reigned ostensibly as guardians of his son; their restlessness and ambition successively placed upon the throne Goudonof, Dmitri, and Chouiski, and led to the destruction of Chouiski, Dmitri, and the son of Goudonof. It was by their suffrages that the grandfather of Fedor had been selected to wear the crown, a dangerous present, which is provocative of ingratitude, inasmuch as he who makes the present is always supposed to retain the power of recalling it. Such had been the oppressions practised upon the people by the Boyars, that there had been serious disturbances, during which the atrocities that were committed were sufficient evidence of the atrocities committed in the original outrages. The question arose, how were these claims to be met, and how were the excesses of the aristocracy to be checked? Ivan Vassilievitch had succeeded in both cases through the severity of the punishments he inflicted; on the other hand, the Romanofs,* though endowed with everything

* Peter the Great "states that he has taken the Czar Ivan Vassilievitch as his model in the art of ruling." . . . Jacob de Stachlin

that fortune could bestow upon them, had none of that halo of splendour which for seven centuries had shone brilliantly round the *great dynasty*, and therefore they did not dare to follow Ivan as a model in the science of government. The elevation of a number of men from the lowest ranks to the level of the proud Boyars, even from the family of the Opritchnikis (satellite-courtiers who filled the office of executioners), whom Ivan Vassilievitch had found amongst the plebeians, and raised to noble rank; the fact, that from that time no distinctions of degree should under any pretence be allowed to exist in the higher ranks, except such as had been clearly defined by the absolute will of the Czar; such were the modes adopted to replace the somewhat shattered edifice of autocracy upon a firmer, if not upon the firmest possible foundation. Very soon, however, the grandees manifested a wish to be distinguished from the inferior nobility; they would not be mistaken for the descendants of Opritchnikis; these too, tried to re-enter the lower ranks they had left, and so to make men forget their origin; an impression which was in perfect analogy with the one caused by the elevation of the nobles in Poland to the rank of magnates, was certain to be attended by similar results; hence the whole of the nobility adopted hereditary names.

Why the Russian nobility adopted hereditary names.

—Original anecdotes of Peter the Great (French Translation, in 8vo, Strasburg, 1787), pp. 216-218. The above work, which was looked upon as an authentic account in Russia, was published with a view to prove that Voltaire, in his History of Russia, did *not* give an accurate representation of Peter the Great's character. After reading it, one naturally concludes that both Voltaire and Lévêque have given a flattering history of the Czar Peter. For an account of Ivan Vassilievitch, who killed his son with his own hand, and of his art of ruling, see Lévêque, History of Russia, vol. iii., pp. 69, 72, 76, 82, 105, 107, 161, 173.

SECTION XL.

FIFTH; FAMILY NAMES INTRODUCED INTO SPAIN BY THE DIVISION OF PARTIES, WHICH LEADS THE MEMBERS OF ONE FAMILY TO HOLD TOGETHER FOR THE COMMON GOOD UNDER ONE COLLECTIVE NAME.

Condition of Spain during the periods mentioned in the last sections.

DURING the period when the Varagians were oppressing the people by whom they had been adopted, another band of warriors, who, like themselves, were of Scandinavian origin, began to find, that in the extreme south of Europe fortune was favouring their efforts to deliver the country which for four centuries they had looked upon as their own, from the yoke of Islamism. After a courageous defence, the descendants of the Goths commenced an offensive war, which the constant internal dissensions of the Moors helped to crown with success. Towards the eleventh century there was a brilliant crowd of noble families in the peninsula, proud of their noble deeds, and proud of the all but freehold properties which they held, oftener earned by military valour than given by royal bounty. No name, however, was at this period peculiar to any one family; consequently, in reading their history, we grow weary of the ever-recurring Don Sanchos and Don Alfonsos, etc., etc., between whom it is extremely difficult to make any distinction.* Such is the uncertainty which characterises the early history of Spain,

* Chénier, in his "Recherches historiques sur les Maures" (Paris, 1787, 3 vols., 8vo), vol. i., p. 52, complains of the obscurity and confusion which exists in Spanish history in consequence of the similarity between the names of those amongst their kings, both Christian and Mahomedan, who were reigning at the same time over the various kingdoms of the peninsula.

that the origin of her most celebrated hero cannot positively be ascertained, and hence it is not certain who was the father of the Cid.* Sometimes, no doubt, just as the Cid had done, they added his own name to the name of his property, but there was no settled rule in the matter, and the names of the rest of the family were in nowise influenced by the fact. As a general rule, until the middle of the twelfth century, people were content to place a surname after the name, which, as in Russia, was derived from the father's name. The son of Gonzalez, a warrior who is looked upon as the founder of the kingdom of Castille, was named Fernand Gonzalez; his son was named Garcia Fernandez. Surnames of this kind subsequently became family names.

How family names became hereditary in Spain.

The wars with the Moors, fought as they were beneath standards consecrated by religion, and crowned with victorious successes, seemed to produce amongst the nobles, for a time at least, an entire sacrifice of their personal aspirations and rivalries to the public good; but their successes were daily becoming more serious; they tended greatly to increase the Christian kingdoms, and added proportionately to the power and to the ambition of the most influential amongst the nobles. United by marriage, yet divided by a common thirst for power, Alfonso, king of Aragon and Navarre, and Uracca, queen of Castille and Leon, added still further to the influence of the grandees by their constantly having recourse to their aid, either as supporters of their cause or as arbiters between them.† The long minority-reign of Alfonso IX., king of Castille, began in 1158. Nobles who disputed each other's rights to wield the sovereign power in the name of

* Histoire Universelle, vol. lxx., pp. 634, 635.

† From 1109 to 1126.

an infant prince soon came to open war. Lara and Castro are the names of two rival families—names which were formerly peculiar to the owners of one or other of their manorial lands, but which are now common to all the members of each family, who are all bound by one common interest to their chief. The same system was soon adopted by other families, in days when hatreds and ambitious aims were all hereditary. From the very fact that party spirit and family pride make men the blind slaves of the same passions, they have the greatest influence in the production of permanency in names; for thus their names become not rallying words only, but banners under which friends and relations will for ever range themselves, actuated as they are by the same desires, the same resentments, and the same hopes as their predecessors.

SECTION XLI.

THE SAME REASON BRINGS ABOUT THE RESTORATION OF FAMILY NAMES IN ITALY; THE COLLECTIVE NAMES THEMSELVES SHEW THEIR DERIVATION.

If there ever was a country where in days of old internal dissensions had divided provinces, cities, and even towns and villages into so many hostile camps; where at the same time the spirit of liberty, in the form of a brilliant compensation, had often brought the poor into close proximity with the rich and the obscurer existences with the most famous in the land, and in a political point of view placed them nearly on a level with each other; there also (especially if each of these causes were further seconded by the admission of Christian præno-

mina), we should expect to find an early and rapid extension of the use of hereditary names. Such was the case in Italy.

The rise of the Italian Republics.

No sooner had the lower empire begun to decline, than republics were formed in Italy in proportion to the rapidity of its decline. Manifesting great tact in the pacification of the then ruling power, whatever its nature, if it were at all likely to endanger their state of independence (a pacification which was secured sometimes by empty homage, sometimes by aid which weighed as nothing in the scale of their wealth), they rose to such a height of strength and greatness, that the very recollection of their existence contrasts strangely with what remains of them in our days. If, keeping aloof from the jealous factions which were constantly being formed around them, they had known how to defend their common country by the insurmountable barrier of a federal alliance; if, like the republics of Greece, they had had their amphictyons; if, like the Greeks themselves, they had at least realized that noble feeling of self-sacrifice which forgets all private enmity in the common desire to rescue one's native land from the yoke of a foreign oppressor—what might not have been? But their light was far in arrear of their prosperity. It was but a small thing that well devised and ambitious schemes should discover means to interest the people in the claims and the personal enmities of a few families; with the names of the Ghibelline and Guelphic factions, the germs of a hatred were planted, than which the most ruthless war could never have inspired any more violent or more implacable between two rival nations; this penetrated into the very heart and veins of Italy, and of the unfortunate wretches who went by those odious names and fought, banished and murdered one another, the majority were only acting in obedience to one

and the same feeling—a longing for national liberty. Alarmed by the spectre of foreign oppression, the one party sought by all means in their power, and at any cost, to close the gates of Italy against the Emperor of Germany. The other party, who consisted of citizens who were less zealous to all outward appearance, but sounder politicians, foresaw a danger nearer home, and one more to be dreaded, viz., the ambition of the popes, and their crafty method of throwing the full influence of the church into political questions. In an age of greater enlightenment we now feel inclined to pass bitter censure on both parties; we should perhaps be better disposed to bestow merely our pity on them, if we reflected more frequently upon our own condition.

Collective names.

The hereditary names to which this spirit of discord gave birth, are the first which we notice, not only in history, but also in the works of the writers of romance, the great chroniclers of the customs of the period. We recognise them by the *collective* character which distinguishes them; they are not peculiar to one individual only, but to a family or to a party. A man was not named Tibaldo Capuletti or Salvino Armati, but Tibaldo de' Capuletti, Salvino degl' Armati;* literally, Tibaldo *of the Capuletti*, Salvino *of the Armati*. Such names had nothing individually characteristic about them; the man who bore them wished simply to shew to what common interests he had joined his own individual interest.

Collective names had at first been individual names.

Every collective name must at first have been the individual name or the surname of some man sufficiently eminent

* This is the name of the inventor of spectacles, according to the learned lady Manni (Degl' occhiali del naso, 1738); he lived about the end of the thirteenth century.

to justify the adoption of his title by his partisans or his posterity; we are not surprised then to find, that although such names had already adopted the *collective* form, they also became individual names or prænomina, either in the family which they distinguished, or in some other.*

The force of example, and the wish to rise in the social scale, were two things which had great influence in causing the spread of collective names in the middle classes of society; but that they were also used by families sufficiently influential to need rallying names, may be proved both by the authority of history, and by the following remarks :—

Collective names in Venice.

1st, In Venetian names the collective element was expressed by the syllable cà, an abbreviated form of *casa*, house, and of *casata*, family. The traveller who is known by the name of Alvise Cada Mosto, is more frequently called Alvise da cà da Mosto by his fellow-countryman Ramusio (*i.e.*, Alvise of the house of Mosto, and in fact he had originally sprung from that patrician family).†

In Genoa.

2dly, After the revolution of 1528, in Genoa, all the families that were entitled to enjoy certain political privileges were compelled by the special clauses of an act specially passed to form themselves into twenty-eight principal houses (Alberghi), and to adopt their names. Amongst these names we do not find those of Adorno, Fregoso, Montalto, or Guarco, which seem, when uttered, to be the echoes of well-known cries

* Malatesta de' Malatesti; Zenon de' Zenoni, a poet contemporary with Petrarch; Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, father of the poet Guido Calvacanti; he was accused (though for no specific reason) by some, and amongst others by Bocaccio (Decameron, giorn. vi. novell. 9) of disbelieving in God. Dante has placed him in Hell as an atheist. (Inferno, cant. x.) etc.

† Freschot. Nouvelle relation de la ville et république de Venise (12mo Utrecht, 1719—third part, pp. 133, 134).

of war and vengeance, so that whoever retained these names was also sure to retain the hereditary discords which for centuries had been inseparable from them.

3dly, There was another important consideration connected with these collective names, even if their origin had been forgotten. For a long time every one in Italy had joined to his own individual name that of his father in the genitive case,* the word son being understood just as the custom was formerly among the Greeks. The introduction of hereditary names did not put a stop to a practice which enabled members of the same family to distinguish each other from the rest who bore the same prænomen. But when the family name was of that kind which we have called collective names, the paternal name was always preceded by *ser* or *Messer*, a title of respect which is equivalent to the latin *Dominus*, and to our *My lord* or *Sir*. Guido di *Messer* Cavalcante di' Cavalcanti; Federico di *Messer* Filippo degl' Alberighi, etc.† Rafaello di Giovanni Mazinghi‡ (Raphael, son of John Mazinghi) was the designation of a citizen whose family had no collective name. The peasantry had no family names as yet, as for instance, Andreuccio di Pietro,§ Andrew, son of Peter.

Why some of the names are Latinized.

All legal instruments were for a long time written in Latin; and at the commencement of the sixteenth century the headings of official letters were still drawn up in the same language, though in all other respects they were written in the national idiom. An accurate and exact translation of their

* The word *son* was not always understood; see hereafter, section 42.

† Ser Antonio, Ser Anastasii de Vespuccis. (See the will of Machiavelli, included in his works.) In his own writings, Machiavelli describes himself as Nicolaus *Domin.* Bernardi de Maclavellis.

‡ Opere di Machiavelli (8 vol. 12mo, 1768), vol. iii.

§ Bocaccio, Decamer. giorn. ii. novell. 5.

collective names retained their original form, and served to distinguish them from similar, but not unfrequently less honourable titles. The name of the eminent lawyer J. A. Rossi* was translated into Rubeus. All historians, when they speak of Petrus de Rubeis, mean Peter Rossi, the nuncio who was sent in 1240 by Pope Gregory the Ninth to collect an arbitrary tax which had been levied upon the clergy of England.

Several collective names have retained the Latin termination. In 1419 and 1420 the Venetians were indebted for the capture of Feltria and Friuli to the General Filippo de Arcellis. Again, we can never forget the philosopher who became famous at the close of the sixteenth century, in consequence of a series of original experiments and an ingenious theory respecting the decomposition of light and the formation of the rainbow, Marc' Antonio de Dominis.†

The Italians write de' Medici, or Medici; and in France the dreadful memory of St. Bartholomew's day, and the recollection of all the ills that followed the assassination of Henry IV. immortalize the name of the Medicis; it was no doubt well known by our ancestors from its frequent occurrence in the Latin legal instruments of the day. We may further observe here, that when collective names had lost the article which characterised them in their native idiom, the Latin translation remained the same.

In Italian, Machiavel always writes his name Niccolò Macchiavelli;‡ in Latin it is sometimes Maclavellus, and

* Born at Alexandria in 1488, died in 1544.

† De Philippis, one of the victims of the counter-revolution in Naples in 1799. Mr. de Angelis, professor in the Polytechnic School of Naples, etc.

‡ Sometimes Macchiavegli.

sometimes de Maclavellis. The medals that were struck in honour of Galileo bear sometimes the name of Galileus—Galilei, sometimes of Galileus de Galileis.*

Inscription at Bologna.

A hundred years ago, travellers used to copy into their notes of travel the inscription at Bologna, "Ælia Lœlia Crispis;" an enigma without point, now utterly forgotten, although so famous of old, thanks to the numerous notices of which it formed the subject, one of which, by the Count Malvasia, took up the space of one volume quarto. The word Crispis, which is inserted in the above inscription to mean the same thing as De' Crispi (of the family of the Crispi), seems to me to prove that it is not older than the time when collective names began to be translated into Latin. The same form is still adopted to indicate the family name of a person who is better known by the surname which is peculiar to himself. The learned Ernesti uses this form in the Clavis Ciceronia, and mentions L. Libo e Scriboniis; L. Cotta ex Aureliis. But I venture to suggest that this is only falling into the error of which the writer of the inscription at Bologna is guilty, and attributing a modern form of speech to the Romans, which did not really belong to them.†

Collective names had been used to describe a tribe or a party more frequently than merely a family, and had nearly always been applied to too great a number of individuals to be really distinctive; hence more than once people were placed in this position, viz., that they were ignorant of the collective name of a man with whose whole history they were acquainted the

* See the "Life of Galileo." (Vita e commercio letterario. Published in Florence; 2 vols. 4to, 1821.)

† Tacitus says, "E familia Scriboniorum Libo." (Annal., lib. ii. c. xxvii.)

moment they heard his individual name uttered. Bocaccio, who was an excellent painter of contemporary manners, sees nothing extraordinary in the fact that one of his characters is in doubt as to the family to which the father of the three young men belongs, whose history he is going to relate.*

An uncertainty which was so contrary to the spirit and purpose of the institution of proper names, hastened the time when collective names were to alter in character. By taking away the article as it had been used in the genitive plural, family names were created; the example of Machiavelli, which we have already quoted, was more and more followed as time advanced; in this way Marsigli, a name which became famous in the eighteenth century through the works on Hydrodynamics, of a learned academician, succeeded to a collective name, which was only rescued from oblivion at the close of the sixteenth century, by the writings of a lawyer of Bologna, Hyppolytus de Marsiliis (de' Marsigli).

A change takes place in collective names.

In the numerous groups which were all included under one collective name, every individual, as in society at large, was compelled to distinguish himself by his personal name, followed by that of his father. This often became hereditary, and in a particular branch, or in some isolated family, in the end it took the place of the collective name. Thus it was, that Speron-Speroni, a poet who had the honour of seeing Tasso among his audience when he lectured on literature, had abandoned the collective name of Degl' Alvarotti.

* Messer Tedaldo, il quale, secundo che alcuni vogliono, fu de' Lamberti; e altri affermano lui essere stato degli Agolanti, etc. (Decamer. giornata ii. novell. 3.) Two sons of this individual are named respectively Lamberto and Agolante; this is an instance of a collective name in one family which has become an individual name in another.

As collective names had belonged to some political party they might sometimes recall questions in which the individuals named had ceased to take any interest; consequently, they were either offensive or meaningless; in their stead, it was natural that people should adopt names of their own choice. The mathematician poet, Pier Vincenzo de' Rainaldi,* gave up the collective name which he had received from his ancestors, and assumed in preference the name of Danti, which he also transmitted to his heirs, in token of his admiration of the writer of the Divina Comedia.

Last of all, the collective name assumed the simplest of forms in order that it might change into a family name, and it was accordingly expressed by the nominative singular. La Cavalleria de' Tassi, in Bergamo, still designates the noble family, one of whose branches, while it retained the Latin form of its collective name, founded in Germany the noble house de Taxis. The author of the "Jerusalem Delivered" belonged to that family, and yet the poet and his father never bore any name but that of Tasso, a name that will survive many others, though they may for a short time have been surrounded by the halo of noble aspirations, or by ambitious cravings after the sovereign power, or by the intrigues, and factions, and ravings of party spirit.

* Died in 1512. His grandson, Ignazio Danti, drew, in 1576, the celebrated meridian (since perfected by Dominicus Cassini), in the church of St. Petronius in Bologna.

SECTION XLII.

SIXTHLY, IN ITALY, COMMERCIAL PROSPERITY, AND EXTENDED COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, SOMETIMES CHANGED THE FATHER'S NAME (IN THE GENITIVE CASE), AND SOMETIMES THE SURNAME ITSELF INTO A FAMILY NAME. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE IS ADDED TO THESE NAMES, AND AS A MATTER OF COURSE TO ALL THE REST.

Extended commercial relations lead to the adoption of permanent names.

WERE hatreds and dissensions the only fruits which ripened on the tree of liberty in Italy? I think not. Discords first occupy our attention, when we read the history of the Republics, and all the more so because we forget for the time that quarrels not fewer in number, and not less deadly, have existed under all forms of Government; but a more careful examination will reveal several other results to our view.

Property was undergoing subdivision, industry was in a flourishing condition, commerce, which was daily becoming more active and more extended in its operations, was enriching all classes of the community, population increased rapidly, families became more numerous, and in every town there were men who, in a political point of view, were as eminent in position as the heads of great families.

How could they do without permanent names? Although amongst men who were eager to secure eminence and distinction from the rest of the general community, pride was the first motive that suggested such a necessity, there were nevertheless others, who perceived how materially the introduction of such a system would simplify those commercial transactions, which were daily on the increase, in consequence of

more extended commercial intercommunications, and of the transmission of property, either by purchase, or by regular inheritance.

In order to accomplish the end they had in view, the sons had only to take their father's name, which they in their turn transmitted to their descendants.* There was nothing in the new form that required the omission of the definite article *il* or *lo*, which necessarily preceded it in the first instance, and which from that time remained a constituent part of the name.†

More frequently still, the father's individual name, in the Latin form of the genitive case, and placed after the name of his son, became the latter's permanent name. This mode of expressing descent had first been adopted in the legal instruments that were written in Latin, and passed without alteration into common use. In one of Bocaccio's best known tales the son of Ferondo is named at his birth Benedetto Ferondi.‡

To imbue this form with an hereditary character, it was only necessary to retain it even when the son was already named after his father, and custom soon regulated this contingency. Cino Hieronymi *Cini*, Lucæ *Cini*, literally Cino, son of Jerome Cino, son of Luke Cino; Machiavelli quotes

* This is the real origin of most of the names which end in o, and also of a number of adjectives which from their very nature are likely to form surnames. Some have thought to trace the Latin ablative in this termination, but it is difficult to explain why a man whose name was Carus should have chosen to put his name in the ablative case, and call himself Caro. Besides this, in Latin the final o of the ablative is always long, in Italian it is always short. I hope to prove that it is precisely analogous to the Latin termination us, the nominative masculine.

† The same thing happened in French names, in most of the names of this kind—*Le* Bon, *Le* Rouge, *Le* Noir, *Le* Gris, *Le* Breton, *Le* Normand, etc. etc.

‡ Decamer; giorn. iii. novell. 8.

this as the name of a Florentine magistrate.* It was not uncommon in the seventeenth century to write Galileo-Galilei, Lelio-Lelii, Concino-Concini, etc. etc. At a later period they began to omit one of the two names, taking care that the one they retained, the latter of the two, was the patronymic. In their translations, modern Latin scholars always expressed it by the termination *ius*,† which was peculiar to the patronymic appellations of the Romans. In the language of common conversation, the definite article by which the name was preceded always recalled the word "son," which was understood, as, *ex. gr.* il Ferondi, the son of Ferondo. That this was the true motive for using the article is proved by the fact of its being carefully omitted when the prænomen was used; if the name were placed after this, it reminded one of the Latin form, and the article became superfluous.

The value of the definite article when prefixed to Italian names.

As these names were by far the most numerous, the rule which applied to them, and which before, had applied to surnames converted into hereditary names, no longer admitted of any exception.‡

* Opere di N. Machiavelli, etc., vol. iii., p. 56.

† Sperono-Speronio, etc., an inscription placed under the bust of Speron-Speroni at Padua (M. Misson, Voyage d'Italie, vol. i., p. 212).

"Hic liquit veneranda Camillius ossa Camillus," etc.

The epitaph of Camillo Camilli, who added five cantos to the "Jerusalem Delivered" (Appendini, Notizie istorico-critiche sulla republica di Ragusa, vol. ii., part 2, chap ix., p. 319). In the cathedral church of Assissi there is an epitaph in memory of a bishop of that city, who had been named Patriarch of Jerusalem by Pope Urban VIII., which begins with these words—"Tegrimo Tegrimio (Voyage de la Terre Sainte, etc., by M. J. Doubdan, 4to, Paris 1666, p. 629), Guido Guidi, a Florentine noble and learned physician, who had been invited by Francis the First to fill the post of Professor of Medicine in the Royal College of France, published during the year 1544, in Paris, a Latin translation of Greek writers on the science of medicine, signing his name Vido-vidio, translator.

‡ See section x.

Notwithstanding the adoption of hereditary names, the Italians in ordinary conversation continued to address each other by their prænomina. This must be borne in mind when we are about to pass criticisms on the Italian stage, where mistakes, caused by similarity in names, would try the patience of a French audience. In Goldoni's comedy, Il Tasso, three of the female characters are called Leonora; the Marchioness, sister to the Duke of Ferrara; the wife of a courtier, and the Marchioness' maid. The result of this may be easily conceived, viz., cross purposes, suspicions, jealousies, which to us would seem most improbable. The similarity in the three prænomina is the very point of a well-known anecdote,* and the mistakes which result from it are perfectly natural, since even to the present day Italians call each other by their Christian names.† Hence in Italy, Christian prænomina must gradually have become permanently established names, and further, must have taken the form of hereditary names sooner, and in a greater number of instances than in the rest of Europe.

Many names were derived from the estates of the nobles. When the Grecian empire was divided between the French and the Venetians, the islands in the Archipelago fell to the lot of the latter; the republic gave them almost all to the Patricians, to be held in fief; the island of Stampalia was given to the Quirini, a branch of whose family took the name of Stampalia.‡

Other names had originally been surnames of distinction; thus the Counts of Provana were so named, because they were the first, in their own country, to practise the art of propagat-

* Memoirs of Goldoni (3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1787), vol. ii., p. 266.

† Memoirs of Goldoni, *ibid.*

‡ Amelot de la Houssaye, History of the government of Venice (2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1685), vol. i., p. 303.

ing the vine.* Some families even went beyond the old wish to select names of good omen, and chose such as could not be uttered without expressing a good wish (Bentivegna, Bentivoglio, Caccia-Nemici), others derived titles that would be appropriate to themselves from their armorials.†

Certain names of great antiquity, consist of the father's name preceded by the word son; the Gianfigliazzi of Florence derived their name from John, son of Azzi.‡

There are authentic documents extant, which prove that the name Filangeri is similarly derived, Filius Angerii. The definite article, which was not absolutely required from the very nature of these various names, was added to them as it had been to the rest, and custom led to its being universally retained.§

* The propagation of the vine, is called by the Piedmontese *Provana* (Millin, voyage en Savoie, en Piémont, à Nice et à Gênes; vol. ii., p. 35).

† Many families in Italy have canting arms.

‡ "Prendono la loro denoninazione da Joannis filii Azi," says Salvini, who is quoted by Bosi. Notizie riguardante leazioni del celebre storico, M. Francesco Guicciardini. (This is the title page of the edition of Guichardin's works, published at Freyburg in 1774.)

§ This custom led to the addition of the article to Greek and Latin names, with a view to the determination of their gender. "Gli amori innocenti di Daphni e della Chloe," is the title of G. B. Manzini's translation of a romance by Longus (4to, Bologna, 1647).

SECTION XLIII.

HEREDITARY NAMES ONLY BEGAN TO PREVAIL IN VENICE ABOUT THE TENTH CENTURY; INCREASED, AND BECAME FIXED ABOUT THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH.

Early history of names in Venice.

THE origin of the principal Venetian families may be traced back to the foundation of the republic. Are their names equally old? Some writers who confound the hereditary character of distinctive signs with the accuracy of genealogies assert that names never altered in Venice, and that the son always used to take his father's name. Here, then, we have family names in the fifth century, at a time when there were still some faint traces of the system of Roman nomenclature; their hereditary transmission, in that favoured country at least, had not been interrupted.

Taking for granted that the statement is true, it would be difficult to prove. Zustiniani, a writer who is jealous of the honour of his country, owns that down to the close of the sixteenth century, the Venetians were too much occupied with seeking for means of subsistence, and with defending their territories, to find time to write annals.* They cannot, therefore, have had much time to trace genealogies. The archives of Padua might possibly have supplied the deficiency, but they must have been destroyed when that city was sacked successively by Alaric and by Attila—so utterly sacked, that it could not recover the shock until Narses arrived in Italy, in the year 564. Authentic records must still have been rare in the four next centuries, and in 976, the palace of the Doges, and the archives of Venice which it contained, were wholly de-

* Bernard. Justinian. De origine urb. Venet. eorumque gestis. lib. v.

stroyed by fire; a similar disaster occurred in 1249, and destroyed a great number of the more ancient documents, thereby causing greater confusion with regard to events that had existed previously to this period.

Historians have not been daunted by the lack of accurate evidence; they have not hesitated to enumerate the names of the magistrates who were sent from Padua, or elected in Venice from the year 421 to 425. The names, however, which they attribute to them, far from being characteristic of the times of Claudian and Arcadius, belong to the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; among them we find Alboin, Albert, and Hugh, three names of Teutonic origin, which had certainly not reached Italy at that time, and which were not commonly used until long after that period. We also find recorded in history the family names of the twelve electors who appointed the first Doge of Venice in 697; Cornaro, Dandolo, Contarini, etc. The writer, however, refers us to no contemporary documents in proof of his assertion; and moreover than this, historians even contradict each other about the names. Venice numbered some eighteen or twenty families who laid claim to the honour of having contributed one of these twelve electors. One *fact* seems to me to dispose of the whole question: not one of the names quoted appears *again* in history till several centuries later. These writers then have been guilty of an anachronism, and have given the names of the electoral families to ancestors who never bore them.

Historical inaccuracies exposed.

Far from having enjoyed the permanent character which has erroneously been attributed to them, the names of the oldest families in Venice have materially changed since the time when history begins to notice them, down to the tenth

century, and even later still. The family of Dandolo was once named Dauli; earlier still, they had the name of Hypati.* This pretended name was a title which the Greek emperors somewhat lavishly conferred on the most noble families of Venice, whose individual members were almost all employed in some office or other about the Imperial palace. The Bragadini were also called Hypati for a similar reason. It is quite possible that the name Monegario, by which the family of the Memmi were first known, was also a title of honour, which, like that of Tribune (a name that was common amongst them at the same period), might only indicate the magisterial office they had long held in one of the islands which formed part of the city of Venice. I am disposed to think it was so. Constant intercourse with the court of Constantinople must have introduced among the Venetians a number of Greek words, much altered no doubt by the incorrect pronunciation of the people. It is possible, then, that Monegario may originally have been Μόνος ἡγητὴς, chief or sole commander, a position which the tribunes undoubtedly occupied in each of the islands.

The earlier name of the Badouero family had been Particípazio, also spelt Partiazio, and Particiaco, and which may therefore very possibly be merely a corruption of Patricius, a title so frequently given by the emperors of Byzantium.

The earlier name of the Falletri, afterwards called Falieri, had been Anastazio. This, which is an acknowledged fact, disposes at once of the list of magistrates' names in Venice, from 421 to 425, in which we find a Falieri.

* The Greeks used to translate the word *consul* by ὕπατος, but in the days of the Lower Empire, it was simply an honorary title, so common had it become, by reason of the facility with which it was obtained.

Preliminary remarks on Venetian names.

The Sanuti were originally known by the name of Candiani. The Pesari bore the name Carosio; the Centranigo family were similarly named Barbolani; and the Arismondi were formerly Ariberti, etc., etc.

The family of Gradenigo claim the honour of having a doge amongst them as early as the year 836; the name was not theirs then; all historians wrote it Tradonic, or Tradenigo, therefore it can have nothing to do with the etymology of Gradenigo, which is derived from the town of Grado, from which the family which bore the name had sprung. It is very doubtful if Pietro Tradenigo was a member of their family at all, for he was a native, not of Grado, but of Pola. It was among the descendants of Pietro Badouero, son of Urso Participazio, who was elected doge in 939, that the name Badouero became permanently established. It was an individual name which had been commonly used in Constantinople for three centuries and a half, and in Venice for nearly one. A nephew of the Emperor Justinian was named Badouaro. Badoero was also the individual name of a brother of the Doge Giovanni Participazio, who died in 881. Later on, and down to the sixteenth century, the same prænomen is found in other families; Cornaro, who was ambassador of Venice at the court of Charles V. and Philip II., bore the prænomen Badoero.*

About the middle of the eleventh century we begin to find, in the list of the doges,† the names of the Contarini, the Falieri, the Michieli, the Morosini, Gradenigo, and all those names, in fact, which families that had already been illustrious

* See an account of his embassy, quoted by Daru, Histoire de la république de Venise, vol. vi., p. 671.

† See the list of the doges in the above-mentioned work by Daru, vol. vii., p. 1-7.

for centuries of influence and feats of arms, had adopted, never more to be abandoned. At first their example was not universally followed. So far were names from being permanently established, that at the close of the twelfth and at the commencement of the thirteenth centuries, we find certain families changing their names according to their own fancy. A branch of the house of Gradenigo took the name Delphini, in allusion to the surname Dolphin, which had been given to the head of the house on account of his wonderful skill in swimming. In 1198 the name Belegno was substituted for that of Selvo, which, thirty years earlier, had been made illustrious by a dukedom. In 1205 a branch of the house of Centranigo took the name Barbo, which was adopted, no doubt, for the same reason which had induced another branch of the same family to take the name of Salamanni, viz., a dread of the ill-omened influences supposed to belong to a doge who had been deprived of his authority by the hatred or by the contempt of his fellow-citizens.*

History of Venetian names.

After these observations, which I venture to hope will not have seemed too tedious, considering their important bearing upon this interesting subject, it will be easy to trace the history of Venetian names.

In the eighth century, before which there is no certainty in our historic traditions of names, the Greek emperors frequently conferred high and honourable titles upon the Venetian chiefs. The highest magisterial office, and the other magisterial posts in the islands which, together, constituted the State, were by law elective, though as a matter of fact they were hereditary. Here, then, we have two fresh sources of more

* Pietro Centranigo was elected doge in 1026, but was forced to resign after reigning four years.

or less lasting surnames, which continued to be borne, from the very force of habit, even though no imperial grant or legal election had sanctioned the right to use them. Although surnames of this kind were transmitted through several generations, they did not constitute real family names, 1st, because they were not common to all the members of the family; and 2dly, because they might be retained or not at pleasure, so that they held out no sufficient guarantee that a more general use would give them the force of law.

We noticed that in Poland* the surname Habdank was in regular and constant use, until it was exchanged for a true family name which does not recall it in the least. Proud of belonging to the family of the enthusiast who induced the whole of France to range herself under the banners of the First Crusade,† all the Tristans used to adopt the surname of L'Hermite. In all classes of society a Christian prænomen will soon become common to the various members of a family who deem themselves under the special protection of the saint who has consecrated the name, and even believe that they are bound to him by ties of kindred, and yet such a prænomen as this even, is not a family name. Similarly in Venice, surnames which for a long period had been retained with jealous care underwent no change of character; they disappeared altogether at the time when family names came into general use.

Similar customs in Venice and in Greece.

In Venice, as among the Greeks, and wherever individual names prevailed, the grandfather's name was usually transmitted to the grandson,‡ so that there frequently happened to be so constantly alternating a use of two names in the same family,

* See section 38.

† Cucupietro, better known as Peter the Hermit.

‡ Maurizio, who was doge in 764, had a son Giovanni and a grandson Maurizio, both of them raised to the rank of doge in 787.

that they seemed to belong exclusively to it. These, again, are surnames which are hereditary for a time, and some of which may eventually become family names. We may remark here, that before the change was finally effected, the custom just alluded to, added to that of joining a man's name to the name of his father, has more than once given rise to considerable doubts respecting a man's real title. One of the "Masters of the Soldiers" (Maestri della Milizia)—(officers chosen to replace the earlier doges,*) is sometimes called by historians Fabrizio Ziani (Fabrizio, son of John), sometimes Giovanni Fabriziano or Fabriciazio (John, son of Fabrizio).

Owing to the ever increasing weakness of the Lower Empire, and to the internal commotions which (whether they detained the emperors of the West in Germany, or recalled them to it) prevented the establishment of their influence in Italy upon a solid foundation, the independence of Venice was firmly established upon an immovable basis at the time when family names reappeared amongst them. What a spectacle did the republic then exhibit to the world! On the one hand there were a few families whose antiquity and illustrious services seemed to mark them out as the exclusive occupants of the ducal throne; in the midst of these a doge, almost always led astray by the evil influences of those days, and like the military chiefs of the free towns of Italy, and the feudal lords in other European countries, seeking to turn an elective magistracy, with limited powers, into an hereditary principality with absolute authority. On the other hand, you might have noticed a people whose character, like that of so many others we could name, is falsely represented in history, who are accused of factious restlessness and sedition because

* From 737 to 742.

they were roused with righteous indignation at the sight of the doings of their chiefs; their masters were endeavouring to abuse the confidence they had reposed in them, and to bring them into a state of abject obedience to their power. Manifesting more zeal than prudence in their love of liberty, they frequently dragged the usurper down from his throne without remembering to define the limits of a power which the new object of their suffrages was not slow to abuse again. Permanent names would probably prevail first in the rival houses that were successively obtaining the highest magisterial office. Neither party spirit nor personal influence were likely to make the rest feel either the need or the right to distinguish themselves by any particular title. "From the days of the first doges to the period when Sebastian Ziani flourished, there were few citizens who raised the position of their family by this method," is the recorded opinion of Gianotti.* The same author adds, that a great number of families distinguished themselves in public affairs in 1177, at the very time when a serious revolution had set limits to the power and ambition of the doges, and had substituted in their stead a grand council, which was subject to change every year, according to the votes of certain electors who were themselves chosen by the general body of the citizens.† Hereditary names, which up to that period had been so rare, may from that time be noticed in great number. Separated from the general crowd, and having a share in the government, the families

The rise of hereditary nomenclature in Venice.

* Donato Gianotti. De Rep. Venet. (in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital., vol. v.) The work just quoted was written in Latin by Trifonio Gabrieli, a patrician of Venice, and has since been translated into Italian.

† We may state here, in order to be historically accurate, that the limitation of the ducal power, which had often been attempted, was not successfully carried out till the year 1229.

who were usually looked upon as the fittest for election into the representative body soon found themselves in a position similar to that which the Polish nobles held, after a revolution of the same kind, in the fifteenth century. These families ranked next in order after the oldest houses, and soon acquired both the influence and the political bias which would induce each of them to adopt a permanently fixed name, by which all the members of the family should from that time be known.

It is not my intention to dwell upon the origin of such names. Some were borrowed from Christian prænomina,* some were derived from the names of places,† some again were but the resuscitation of old surnames, more or less altered during the period they had been in use;‡ some were translated from names which they had replaced;§ but all were significant at first, and manifested no peculiarities which would militate against the rules I have laid down. I need

* Michieli, Zustiniani, Zorzi, Ziani, etc. The Ziani have changed their name; it is now Zane, a word which in old Italian means a fox, an animal who figures in their coat of arms.

† Pesaro, from Pesaurum, now Pesauro, the country from which they had sprung; Loredani, from Loredo or Loreo, a small town some leagues distant from Venice; Polani from Pola; Gradenigo from Grado; Trevisani from Treviso; Pisani from Pisa, etc.

‡ Cornaro is derived from Coronaro. Malipieri was for some time Maripetro, and earlier still Mastropetro (Maestro Pietro); the latter was the name of Orso, one of the doges who succeeded Sebastian Ziani, and of Niccolò, a procurator in 1184. The title of Maestro (or master) was characteristic of several of the higher posts, and more especially of the one called Maestro de' Soldati (master of the soldiers), which for five years took the place of the ducal authority.

§ For Selvo or Sylvio (of the wood, of the forest) they substituted Belegno (bel legno, beautiful wood). Any one who understands the Venetian idiom can perceive why the name Cà-d'Amore was changed into that of Basadone, which succeeded it.

therefore make only one remark more. A circumstance which I have observed in all countries, occurred equally in Venice; many names were common to different families. In certain elections, if a man's name were the same as the candidate's, or the same as that of another elector who had been called upon to vote, the former's right to vote was lost, even though there were no ties of kindred between them. Such was the dread in which they held the influence of that feeling which identifies the name with the individual, a feeling which does not allow us to look upon a man as a stranger if he bear the same name that we do, and which, perhaps unconsciously to ourselves, makes us think it possible that at some future time the similarity of names may add to the honour of "our family" by means of some distinguished conduct unconnected with ourselves, but still belonging to the name.

SECTION XLIV.

HEREDITARY NAMES ADOPTED BY THE MIDDLE CLASSES—FIRST, IN ITALY; SECONDLY, IN FRANCE; PENETRATING INTO THE REMOTER INLAND COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

Hereditary names in Italy.

In the first place, each of the reasons I have given for the re-introduction of family names in Italy, may possibly have given rise to others, yet, in order to bring these into permanent use, and to make them generally customary, the concurring influence of the former was needed, aided further by the gradual action of the laws, and by that stern regulator of all human events—time.

At the close of the tenth century, Pietro d'Eboli (Petrus

d'Ebolo), the writer of a poem which is deservedly but little known, and the subject of which is the unjust war that Henry VI. waged against Sicily,* is only known by the name of his native country, and we find no indication of his having had any distinctive title. The characters who are quoted in history down to the time of the fourteenth century had none. In the war between the Venetians and the Milanese in 1339, Gaspard de Reggio, John de Cremona, and John the German, supplied the Marquis of Mantua with the means of taking Verona by surprise. Who were these three men?† Simply partisans, subaltern condottieri, men of no position or family, who were sufficiently described by adding the name of their native country to their Christian prænomen.

The spirit of freedom in the Italian cities was daily multiplying hereditary names, but their increase must have been either retarded, or altogether checked, when liberty had taken the place of despotism or of aristocratic institutions. These names did not penetrate into the provinces without great difficulty, so that even at the present time,‡ there are many families in Trieste who have none. In the island of Elba, they were almost unknown nine years ago; they are so still, except greater results than I apprehend to be possible have ensued from the various means adopted to secure their introduction, somewhat before the time when the man sailed once more from that island, whose fall and whose successes will occupy so important a place in the destinies of the world.

Hereditary names in France.

2dly, In France, where in the twelfth century civilization

* Petri d' Ebulo Carmen de motibus Siculis, etc., quarto, Basileæ, 1746.

† Platina, Hist. Mantuan, lib. vii.

‡ Written in 1824.—(*Tr. Note.*)

was very far below that of Italy, and where the absolute authority of the sovereign was only limited by the power of his feudal lords, the reduction of that power, and the consequent recognition of the civil rights of the third estate of the realm, *i.e.*, the commons, were the only circumstances which could introduce the use of hereditary names in the provinces. The burgesses, who had received their freedom from Louis-le-Gros, were soon to endeavour to tread in the steps of the nobles. They were induced to make the attempt from a very commendable desire of emulation, and from a wish to distinguish themselves from the inhabitants of the provinces, who, less fortunate than themselves, were still doomed to linger for a considerable period in a state of servitude. Circumstances, however, occurred which favoured their attempts, and confirmed their stability.

The spirit which animated the crusaders, that strange mixture of religious zeal, chivalrous enthusiasm and feudal rapacity, led the nobles to sell their vast possessions; were they not, thought they, to receive their value a hundred fold, not alone in heaven hereafter, but then also in the principalities, which, if they proved victorious, they were going to found in the East. The clergy purchased largely, and thus added to their wealth. Portions, however, of these alienated properties fell into the hands of some of the burgesses—deeds of sale—memoranda of exchange—conveyances of property, all of which were constantly required as changes and subdivisions of property became more frequent, were so many sure means of perpetuating the existence of such family names as the owners of the various properties had adopted.

Etymology of hereditary names.

Before we can suggest satisfactory etymologies for the greater part of these names, it is absolutely necessary that we

should make ourselves acquainted not only with a great number of words, which, though now obsolete in form, were formerly very generally used, but also with the dialects and provincialisms peculiar to each district, and especially with the ancient names of trades and arts for which a refinement of taste and industrial progress have substituted more perfect modes of execution under different names. The new names were almost always personal, or paternal surnames that had become permanent, or the title of a profession. Some merchants derived the names they had adopted from their signs, just as the nobles had taken theirs from their armorials. The place of birth and of residence were also suggestive of a number of names, whilst others were selected with a view to express good wishes of happy omen, as Bonjour (good day), Bonne-Année (happy year), Dieu-te-garde (God have thee in His care), Mène-à-bien (lead to good), etc.

Mèzeray, who furnishes us with several important details on the origin of names, asserts that hereditary names began to prevail in France towards the close of the reign of Philip-Augustus. The twelfth century had paved the way for this decided change; it was not completed, I think, in the second rank of society till the commencement of the fourteenth. For the first time, the third estate in the realm were about this period admitted into the states general. The lapse of two centuries had hardly given them a political existence; the same length of time may also have necessarily elapsed before that change could take place in their names which assimilated them to the nobles. It is an admitted fact, however, that the majority of writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries only designate themselves by their Christian prænomen, the name of their country, or that of their occupation. As

instances of the above, we may cite the writer of the chronicle of St. Benigna,* which ends in 1152; the poet, also, who commemorates the glorious exploits of Philip-Augustus,† and one of the principal historians of St. Louis, and Philip the Bold.‡

Hereditary names not known in the country districts until a much later period.

For a long time hereditary names remained unknown in the country districts. It is quite true that in 1315 and 1316 Louis, surnamed Hutin, compelled the serfs on his domains to purchase from him letters of enfranchisement, but the example of the king found few imitators, and whether the number of persons enfranchised was small, or whether in subsequent reigns the freedom which had been sold to them was withdrawn, the condition of the country people was but little altered. Where then was the property, where were the rights which would necessitate some contract, or some deed that would tend to preserve the memory of a name among the unhappy serfs who were attached to the soil? Even the state-registers were closed against them till the sixteenth century. The inhabitants of the rural districts were only distinguished from each other by a few surnames, and by various *diminutives* formed from their Christian prænomina.

It may be asked why the style of pastoral poetry which we call eclogue, is almost impossible amongst us? The true system of our names, and the true character of our manners, are both repugnant to it. Ronsard is very justly blamed by

* John de Salins, a monk of Dijon. For a notice of this writer, see a curious memoir in the account of the "Séance Publique de L'Académie de Dijon," 1818, pp. 144, 145.

† William of Brittany, a native of Armorica, author of a work entitled, "La Philippide," a poem in twelve cantos, which was completed in 1223, in the first year of the reign of Louis VIII.

‡ William de Nangis, a monk of St. Denys.

Boileau for having introduced the style in a serious poem, and in allusion to illustrious persons.*

These diminutives, which, as good taste naturally suggests, should never find admission into a style of poetry which is neither comic nor burlesque, can only be traced now in remote country places. Elsewhere, the names which they are intended to represent, are not even willingly given to children. Such names and their diminutives still carry with them the stain of that civil and political debasement in which the class who used them most were wont to live, and who for a long period knew no other names; they seem still to be what they were for so many centuries, an insult and an outrage. "Jacquerie" was the name given to that tremendous rise of the country population, when, in sheer despair, they were on the point of taking a few days' ruthless vengeance for the atrocious tyranny of five hundred years; the title originated in the fact that when the lords of the land robbed the peasants, they called them Jacques Bonhomme, as a term of derision.†

The latter part of the name,‡ which three centuries later

* Boileau. Art. poétique, canto ii., v. 23, 24. Ronsard in his eclogues, had called Henry II. *Henriot:* Catharine de Medicis, *Catin*, etc. He further makes use of the names Pierrot, Michau, Margot, etc.

† Mézeray in his abridgement of the History of France (year 1358, vol. ii., p. 126), remarks, that during this period of anarchy, the nobles and soldiery were guilty of all kinds of excesses against the poor peasantry. The unfortunate people were beaten, robbed, hunted like wild beasts, having no place of refuge but the woods, caves, and marshes; at last, like the hare that is hemmed in on all sides and fastens its teeth in the dog's neck, they too turned round upon their oppressors. They gathered together in vast troops, and determined to exterminate them from the land.

‡ "Ainsi font deux soldats logés chez le *bonhomme*."

P. CORNEILLE. *La suite du Menteur*, act iii., s. 3., v. 62.

"So act two soldiers when lodged at the good old man's." The expression is equivalent to a good-natured old simpleton.

was used in a somewhat similar way, has retained its insulting character; a ludicrous idea takes the place of the respect which its real meaning should inspire, so true is it that we usually join in the contempt felt for the oppressed, rather than in the feeling of hatred so richly merited by the oppressor.

When family names reached our villages, by the instrumentality of the enfranchisements, they often sprang from a custom which even in the present day produces permanent surnames. The peasant who had left his native place was sufficiently designated by the name of that place amongst the inhabitants of another village where he had taken up his abode. The name was transmitted to his children, and so became hereditary. From this undesigned coincidence, the peasant's name and the name of the noble (the lord of the manor of his native village), originated in the same source, and like the men who had received their freedom among the Romans, and who by right bore the family name of their patron, there arose between the peasant's descendants and the family of his former master a confusion of names which was a frequent cause of mortification to the pride of the nobles.

SECTION XLV.

HEREDITARY NAMES BECOME ESTABLISHED IN ENGLAND, GERMANY, ETC.

Hereditary names in England and in Germany.

If we only alter the dates, and modify a few trifling circumstances, the preceding remarks will apply exactly to England and Germany. Like the Jacquerie in its causes, its riotous excesses, and its results, the rising of the English peasantry in

1381,* and the similar movement in Suabia and the Palatinate in 1501, will give us an idea of the oppression under which the country districts were groaning during each of the periods I have named, hence it could not have been until long after that time that family names were introduced.

In England the middle classes acquired a decidedly important political influence as early as the year 1258, or not later than 1264, the quarrels of the nobles and the king having opened the road to Parliament for the representatives of the commons. Moreover, an act that no tax should be levied without the consent of their representatives was passed before the year 1300, and accordingly, soon after that date, we find hereditary names commonly used in the middle classes.

For a contrary reason the change cannot have taken place in Germany until a much later period. In order to prove this, I shall have to select an instance which will be all the more conclusive from its being connected with an intermediate point between that country and France.

In the town of Metz, which in idiom and by union with the dominions of the descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, was decidedly French, but which for thirty years had been Germanized in consequence of its political position, you might have noticed at the close of the thirteenth century that its chief magistrates, who were all *knights*, bore without exception individual or derived surnames instead of family surnames; when I say derived, I mean either from the place in which they lived,† or from the post which their military duties

* The leader of the disturbance in 1381 is called in history Wat Tyler. Wat being an abbreviation of Walter (equivalent to Gauthier, Gaultier, etc); Tyler, *i.e.*, Slater, described his occupation.

† Gros-nez (large nose), Belle-Barbe (thick beard), De La Posterne (of the postern gate), De Porte Moselle (of the Moselle gate), De Port

obliged them to occupy.* It was not till the close of the latter half of the fourteenth century that hereditary names became common among men who were high in office, so that among their inferiors it is only fair to infer that they were rarer still.

Etymology of English and German hereditary names.

The etymology of hereditary names in England and in Germany is generally the same as in France and in Italy. The following remarks will embody the inferences I have been able to draw from their examination, for the use of philologists. In languages of Teutonic origin, when descent is implied merely, the word *son*† is placed after the father's name; such is the derivation of all the family names in the languages of Sweden, Denmark, Germany, and England, which terminate in this way. There are some exceptions, such as Ferguson and Owenson, which serve to corroborate my statement as to the possibility of the union of two languages to form one and the same proper name; in the instances quoted above, a Saxon termination is joined to a Caledonian or a Welsh name.

I have already drawn attention to the custom of giving

Sailly (of Sailly harbour), etc. See a list of the Master-Sheriffs of Metz, appointed in 1170, etc. (given at the end of the "Vocabulaire Austrasien de dom Jean François, 8vo, Metz 1773); a note inserted in the account of the year 1311 mentions incidentally that the Master-Sheriffs of preceding years had all been knights. Throughout the whole of France, down to the close of the thirteenth century, legal documents described both nobles and commoners by their surnames—(Ducange, Glossar. Verbo, Cognomen).

* De La Porte, Des Portes, Delporte; these names in France were commonly used to designate a man who was intrusted with the care or defence of one or more gates of the city; a most important charge at a time when safety could only be secured within wall-surrounded cities.

† Sen, in Dutch: Clazsen, *son* of Nicholas. When names of this kind were Latinized, the old genitive form was usually adopted; Snorro Sturlæ, Snorre Sturleson.

the father's name, in the genitive case, to the son as a surname. The addition of a final s in English, and of the syllable ez in Spain, sufficed to change Christian prænomina into surnames, and afterwards into family names; Peters, Williams, Richards, Henriquez, Lopez, Fernandez, literally (son) of Peter, of William, of Richard, of Henry, of Lope (or Wolf), of Fernando or Ferdinand.

D'André, Dejean, Depierre, have probably become family names in France in a similar way. The name of the writer who was perhaps the keenest appreciator of the genius of the immortal Dante that ever lived, Giuseppe di Cesare,* shews that a similar form was not foreign to Italian customs.

As in Italy, so also in the greater part of Europe, the practice of drawing up deeds and charters in Latin was almost universal, and in these the son was designated by his father's name in the genitive case, hence we must attribute all the names which are characterized by such a termination to this custom; such names, for instance, as Fabri, Jacobi, Simonis, Johannis, etc.,† names which would be multiplied without end if other

* See "Esame della Divina Comedia" (Napoli 1807, 4to), a sound literary work, in which Mre. Di Cesare shews less prejudice against the French nation than the majority of his countrymen. In the sixteenth century another writer had made the same name illustrious, only in a different form, viz., that of a collective name; Cesare de' Cesari—he was a writer of two tragedies, entitled respectively Cleopatra and Romilda.

† The two names were sometimes joined into one. The bookseller who in 1562 printed the works of Prudentius (Aurelii Prudentii opera in 8vo) was called Henricus Petri, or Henry the son of Peter. On the title-page of the Poloniæ Historiæ Corpus (3 vols. folio, Basileæ 1582), his son takes the name of Sebastian Henricpetri, Sebastian Henry of Peter. A name, which is unfortunately but too notorious, is formed, in the same way, with the English sign of the genitive case, if, as I suppose, he originally wrote his name Roberts'-Pierre, or Peter, son of Robert.

languages had retained the old Latin termination like the Italian. The countries where the greatest number will be found will be those (it may be safely conjectured) where the custom of writing legal documents in Latin prevailed the longest.

How hereditary names were gradually formed in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

Somewhat similarly in Wales, the sign of descent, or rather of sonship, led to the formation of surnames, which later again became hereditary names. The word "ab," when placed between two names, expresses descent, Rhys ab Evan (Rhys, the son of Evan); the vowel is gradually lost in common use, and the name becomes Rhys Bevan, and, according to the same rule, successively takes the form of the following patronymics, Bowen, Pryderrech, Price.

It is still the same theory, only more simply carried out, which regulated the formation of family names in Ireland and in Scotland. As soon as the head of a clan had adopted some hereditary name, that name was given to all his vassals, whatever rank they might happen to occupy, and however remotely connected they might be by ties of kindred with the head of the clan, and further, even though they had only entered it by enfranchisement or by adoption. The feeling of pride which suggested such a system is by no means an offensive one; we excuse it on the ground of its similarity to the old patriarchal customs; the head of the clan who is so powerful, and such an object of reverence, is but the eldest brother of a large family, and the name which he takes belongs to all its members.

It will not be quite so easy to discover a reason for the feeling of vanity which in Spain and in Portugal led to such a tedious multiplicity of names. Birthplace, or the customary home, are not considered sufficient for a full description of a lordly title; alliances, adoptions, and the like, were all dragged

in to increase the number of names. An ignorant phase of devotional feeling added its proportionate share to their Christian prænomina; it may, therefore, be easily inferred what needless confusion must have arisen in the ordinary transactions of life through this twofold prodigality of names.

SECTION XLVI.

HEREDITARY NAMES SPREAD RAPIDLY IN POLAND, IN RUSSIA, IN GREECE, AND IN ARMENIA—ACKNOWLEDGED USEFULNESS OF THEIR ADOPTION IS THE SEVENTH AND LAST REASON FOR THEIR UNIVERSAL PREVALENCE.

As the nobles in Sweden had not adopted hereditary names before the close of the sixteenth century, it followed as a matter of course that the middle classes did not use them until a still later period. The choice of names which this latter class made is worthy of notice. We know many names in France which indicate occupations, such as Draper, Miller, Barber, Baker, Slater, Turner, etc.* The same may be found in England, but not in the same quantity; the oldest English commoners were freeholders of land rather than either merchants or manufacturers. There are very few if any such, in Sweden; the greater part of their names are the names of properties, or of farms, or of forests, and were of that character because they were selected by a class who wished to approximate to the nobles by imitating their ways, and consequently *not* because they were the result of a need for distinctive signs—a need which is totally distinct from any individual wish or caprice.

Names which indicate occupations, though common in England and France, are not numerous in Sweden.

In Holstein and in Courland there are still many families

* Mercier, Meunier, Barbier, Boulanger, Couvreur, Tourneur, etc.

who have no names peculiarly their own. In this instance, again, the scourge of feudalism is felt in all its severity.

Disturbed state of Poland in the thirteenth century, and its result upon names.

As early as the thirteenth century, Bodeslas, surnamed the Chaste, placed a number of cities under German authority and sought to create a race of citizens in Poland. His own premature attempts, and those of a few of his successors, exercised a favourable though too transient influence over the commercial prosperity of the country. Their elective royalty could offer but a feeble resistance to a turbulent aristocracy. Hence, while the middle classes were at one time raised from a state of comparative obscurity, they were again dragged down to it for centuries by the triumphant successes of the patricians, to whose ambition they ought to have acted as a foil. Accordingly, we find that they did not adopt family names until a late period, when they began to imitate the nobles and the strangers who were attracted to Poland by commercial enterprise.

These names must have increased with great rapidity even amongst the tillers of the soil, after the philanthropic Zamoïski had set the example of enfranchisements in 1760, and restored the serfs to the condition of men.

Whatever may have been the height of civilization to which Novgorod had attained in olden times, that civilization proceeded from the civilization of Greece which was already on the wane, and to which hereditary names were altogether foreign. Dissensions, wars, revolutions, massacres and despotism, brought back the darker times of an earlier barbarism, destroyed all commerce, and drove all salutary reforms far away from Russia. In the sixteenth century Russia was almost crushed beneath the yoke of a slavish serfdom, and was, moreover, kept strictly aloof from the supposed contagious

The need of permanent names is felt in Russia.

example of other countries by its customs and its laws. Its maritime commerce was confined to the narrow limits of the port of Archangel, and the lapse of a century had contributed but little to an increase of its activity. But all at once that formidable people began to extend both its frontiers and its commerce, and has never since been checked in its onward progress. Placed thenceforth in contact, as it were, with the rest of Europe, the example of others on the one hand, and the necessity for written agreements on the other, led the middle classes to feel the want of permanent names. These names soon gained ground in the principal towns; they spread rapidly in the provinces, and their successful progress in the country districts was naturally in proportion to the efforts made for the enfranchisement of the serfs.

From the Russian nation, placed as it was between a civilization which tended to throw off its fetters, and an individual selfish cupidity which attempted to rivet them all the more firmly, let us now go on to examine the case of the Greeks and Armenians who were groaning beneath the Mussulman yoke, and see how they were situated with regard to the establishment of hereditary names amongst themselves.

Hereditary names among the Greeks.

Long after the crusades, the commercial intercourse of the Greeks with the various countries of Europe where family names prevailed, led to their gradually increasing adoption in Constantinople, Smyrna, etc.; but they were nowhere universally used except in the islands which were subject to Venetian authority. The custom is as much unknown at the present day in the interior of Greece as it was thirty centuries ago; there the son is distinguished by the addition of his father's name (in the genitive case) to his own, or by the same (*i. e.*, his father's name) in an adjective form. An en-

feebled, empoverished, and oppressed people felt no need for anything beyond. Owing to the custom of *not* giving the name of its father or its mother to a child, the means of distinguishing each other are more numerous than the various transactions of civil life require. These transactions need but little writing; if disputes arise, the matter is submitted to the Cadi, who admits no written evidence; everything must be proved by oral testimony; hence deeds, documents, and registers (those special records of the lastingness of a name), are not only useless, but are as though they did not even exist. I am speaking in the present tense, and yet all I have said shews that I have been describing a past which has long since vanished never to return. It is all in vain that a system of policy which is plainly as short-sighted as it is narrow-mindedly conceived, has almost abandoned and anathematized the cause of justice; everything combines to prove that the hopes of common humanity will not be disappointed. Athens, Sparta, Argos, and Corinth! you all tell us, that when left to your own resources, your noble children will secure you a glorious deliverance. Then shall we see them wiping out the last traces of an involuntary disgrace, and substituting the activity and progressive spirit of a free people for the hopelessness and servile routine of a dependent nation, daily laying more firmly the foundations of their regenerated existence upon sounder and freer institutions. Amongst those which they will most readily adopt will be the use of hereditary names, an institution which they could not have received from Egypt or from Phœnicia, but which they might have borrowed from the Romans.

Written evidence not admissible among the Greeks.

The result of the custom.

The Armenians were, as merchants, men who had mixed more with other nations than the Greeks, and had suffered

Hereditary names in Armenia.

less from oppression than the Israelites, and we find that amongst them the requirements of commerce had succeeded in introducing permanent names,* although they frequently changed their residence and settled in places far removed from their native land. For nearly three centuries almost all those who have acquired wealth in trading pursuits have had family names; this, however, is only the case in the seaport towns, or in large commercial cities. In the interior of Armenia, and among the poorer classes generally, individual names alone prevail; yet sometimes surnames creep in, the commonest form being the one which recalls the father's name.

Such is the force of habit, which long retains both its superiority over every utilitarian principle, however good it may be, and its unyielding character to the example of others. The difficulty of meeting with hereditary names is not limited to the interior of devastated Greece, or to the enslaved Armenian populations; nor again to the serfs of Holstein, of Russia, or of Poland, the custom is far from having been a common one in the rural districts of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.† The example set by the old Laplanders, and the more recent one set by the middle classes, have not sufficed to introduce them; nothing has raised a desire for them, nothing has made the want of them to be felt.

Practical conclusion from a review of the whole subject.

Is it not quite time that, for the honour of civilization in general, the manifest advantage of family names should be a last reason for their general adoption? Wherever the custom has not been introduced, let the powers that be endeavour to foster the system either by persuasion or even by coercive

* See above, Section xiv.

† L. Debuch, Voyage to Norway and Lapland, vol. ii., p. 149.

measures, the latter being the most effective, inasmuch as they can be brought to bear upon all branches of the community. So complicated have our social institutions become, that the use of hereditary names offers more advantages to governments than to private individuals. Let the man who is invested with the power of governing others look upon himself as the owner, as it were, or administrator of society; let him look upon his fellow-countrymen as people intrusted to his care, as a flock is intrusted to its shepherd; let him realize that military service and payment of taxes are only duties which flow naturally from the privileges of citizenship and an acknowledgment which can be legally enforced, then he will readily see, at the same time, that the regular and permanent establishment of family names will facilitate the acquirement of accurate information respecting the population and wealth of a country, and that it will multiply the means of first reaching, and then guiding, not only families but individuals.

SECTION XLVII.

FAMILY NAMES BECOME COMMON TO BOTH SEXES.

Family names of women but slowly introduced

PATRONYMIC names have not always been common to both sexes. The origin of such names would prevent it, for daughters inherited neither fiefs nor dignities, and therefore could not assume the titles they involved. When the course of time had changed these titles into permanent and hereditary names, justice was somewhat tardily and imperfectly done to female heiresses (in cases where there was no male issue), in the matter of allowing them to adopt the name

which was a portion of the inheritance. Custom first, and subsequently the facilities which this form afforded for the designation at once of the individual and of her parentage, soon led to a more extensive use of it.

Here, however, I must call attention to a circumstance which may have retarded the general adoption of the custom.

Why but little importance was attached to permanency in the names of women.

When considerable importance began to be attached to permanency in family names, it was found that women could not contribute to their lastingness, consequently no great effort was made to confer permanency upon their names. When, at last, it had been granted to them, people saw at once that the name died with them. So great was this misfortune deemed in the eyes of family pride, that a feeling of disappointment often used to triumph over more natural affections. It is not very long since the birth of a daughter was considered in many families a serious misfortune. It is not very long since the word child (enfant), in some of our provinces, meant exclusively *a son;* a woman was not said to have had a child if she had only given birth to a daughter. How was it possible to feel any interest in a daughter, especially if, besides losing her patronymic name at the time of her marriage, she had to receive a dowry, or a marriage portion out of the property, which belonged to the next male heir of that name, the very man who hoped to perpetuate the name? Many were condemned to lead a single life in consequence of that unfortunate circumstance. Many more took refuge from the contemptuous treatment and persecutions of their family in the seclusion and slavish life of the cloister. Appeals to common justice were fruitless, when the opinion of the world and long established custom had so warped the judgment of the best regulated minds and

the most upright dispositions, that they had ceased to see the absurdity and the wrong of such injustice.

In one sense, those women were the most fortunate who had been born under a system like the one which we call the custom of Normandy, according to which a sister received neither dowry nor marriage portion; such were looked upon without the slightest admixture of jealous feeling, because they were in no way concerned with the preservation of the name; and they were not exposed to the hatred of those who simply viewed them in the light of spoilers of a son's inheritance, a son who was the centre of his parent's tenderest affections. Still more fortunate was the young woman whose marriage was intended to perpetuate a name which was likely to die out through want of male issue, the daughter whose future husband was content to adopt a name to the prejudice of his own. For her sake no sacrifice was too great; all that the most accomplished woman could have expected to accrue from her virtues, her beauty, and the affection of her parents, were assured to her with the most careful attentions. Thus may the faulty excess of feeling, which identifies the name with the individual or the family, be viewed in its two extremes, according to the way in which it is affected by the personal interests involved in a few syllables.

The custom of Normandy.

SECTION XLVIII.

THE WIFE GIVES UP HER OWN FAMILY NAME AND ADOPTS THAT OF HER HUSBAND.

The wife has not always taken her husband's name.

A MORE legitimate manifestation of the same feeling is the one which gave the husband's name to the wife. We may perhaps feel somewhat surprised that the custom is not many centuries old in Europe; that even in the present day it is not co-extensive with European civilization, and that in the Azores, for example (that is, in the Portuguese colony least remote from the metropolis), a woman does not lose her own name when she marries,—a custom which seems so consistent with the spirit of the conjugal tie, ought to be, and to have been universal.

The man's title sometimes conferred upon the wife.

There are many countries, no doubt, where we may frequently detect faint traces of a husband's natural desire to make his companion, the mother of his children, a participator of the title of which he himself is proud. In Egypt, in the time of the Greek kings, the honourable surnames of their husbands were equally enjoyed by the queens, through a feeling either of flattering attention or real love. Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, in the famous Rosetta inscription, is called Euergetides. The same queen, and all the others whose names are cited in the aforesaid inscription, share the titles of their divinities with the kings. The title Augusta was given to the empresses from the first; Livia and some others were named Augusta. When the name Flavius, which had been introduced by Constantine in the genealogy of his father, had become as real a title as the name Augustus or Cæsar, several of the empresses were called Flavia, and their

names struck accordingly on the Latin medals; the first of the name was Helen, the mother of Constantine. In order to rival the Cæsars, whose heirs they pretended to be, the emperors of Germany took the name of Augustus. In the public annals Beatrice, the widow of Frederic Barbarossa, is called Augusta.

The princes of the Lower Empire were surrounded by a crowd of imitators. During one of the wretched quarrels which so frequently disgraced the Byzantine court, the wife of the Constantine who was surnamed Strategopulo, is mentioned by the name of Strategopulina. John, the uncle of the Emperor Andronicus III., was further dignified by the title of Panhypersebastes, and his wife was thenceforth called Panhypersebasta. She was a woman of rare worth, alike remarkable for wisdom and for eloquence; worthy we are told of the best days of Grecian history, and therefore she well deserved a less high-sounding name, yet a more honourable title.

The various instances I have quoted were not dependent upon any established custom, but rather upon some chance circumstance; accordingly, a woman did not *necessarily* share in the name or title of her husband; if, however, these instances be carefully observed, they will set us upon the right track for tracing the origin of the more modern custom. The earliest family names were at first either titles of military office or of lordship; just as in the time of the Lower Empire the wife of a man who was high in office shared in her husband's title, so more naturally still, the wife of the lord became the *lady* of the domain or property from which he took his title.

A community of names like this soon established itself, and spread all the more rapidly, because it had not to con-

tend against a patronymic name, which it would have either to remove or replace. At that time, and for a long period after, women had none but individual names, to which the new names and titles could easily be joined.

A community of name between husband and wife did not exist either in China, in Japan, or in Rome.

The obstacle which was thus removed in modern Europe, is perhaps the only one which prevented a community of names between man and wife in China, in Japan, and in ancient Rome. It is an established fact, that in the whole course of ancient history we can only find one instance, and that belongs to mythology. I am disposed to think that it was through ignorance of the proper name of the person they were describing, that the mythologists of ancient Italy were led to designate Fauna by the name of her husband, she being the companion of the priest, or prince, or demigod Faunus.

The faithless wife, who is said to have deserted Bazine, king of Thuringia, and to have followed the fortunes of the fourth king of the Franks, is called Bazine by most historians. The similarity of the two names, if we take it to be as well founded as it is unquestionably problematical, furnishes no argument either against the authenticity of the historical account, or against the opinion we have expressed respecting the date at which the name of the husband began to be shared by the wife. This is only a singular coincidence. It is a name which was equally applicable to both sexes. Three hundred and sixty years later we find the name of Bazine* again, the daughter of Chilperic, and Audovere his first wife, whom he abandoned when he fell a victim to the seductive influences of the infamous Fredegonda.

Names like these, which may be given to either man or

* Mézeray. Abridged Chronology of the History of France, for the years 589-590.

woman by means of a very slight grammatical alteration, may be found, I think, in all languages. I have already drawn attention to them among the Arabs and Hebrews.* The daughter of the Scandinavian Angantyr, Hervora by name, travelled under the disguise of male attire, and went by the name of Hervordr.† The sister of Tygranes, king of Armenia, and contemporary with Astyages, was called Tygranuhi.‡ The unfortunate Cassandra, who predicted all the disasters of Troy without being able to prevent one of them, was also called Alexandra, just as her brother Paris was called Alexander. Antigone, Hippolyte, and a thousand other names, were common to both sexes among the Greeks. In old days, a similarity of name was deemed a favourable omen in the matter of conjugal felicity. On account of the similarity, and without drawing lots like their brothers, Clitus, Sthenelus, and Chrysippus, chose Clitis, Sthenele, and Chrysippe, for their wives, from among the daughters of Danaus. The alteration to which the name was liable, according to the sex of the person named, was owing to the nature of significant names. It became necessary to extend the system. When a woman had received a saint's name at baptism, it was an established custom that the name should be altered, and that it should assume a female termination.§

Some names may belong to either man or woman with but slight alteration.

At first sight we should be disposed to think that the majority of Italian names were susceptible of a similar altera-

* See above, Section 16.

† Hervorar-Saga.—See Mag. Encyclopéd., 1805, vol. iv., p. 264.

‡ Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches curieuses sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Asie, pp. 69-71. Mos. Koren., lib. i., cap. xxvi. It seems that the termination *uhi* was characteristic of female names. The wife of Tygranes was called Jaruhi.—(*Ibid*).

§ Georgette, Simonne, Andrée, Philippine, Etiennette, etc.

Wives' names in Italy.

tion, and yet we do not find that they were ever so used either to imply conjugal relationship or to denote filial descent. Among the many instances of this latter kind which remind us of the forms that are characteristic of female names among the Romans, the most striking are those of Catarina Cornara, who ceded the kingdom of Cyprus to the Venetians; and of the wife of the Doge Marino Grimani, who was solemnly crowned under that title in 1595, and was mentioned as Morosina Morosini in the annals of Venice. Morosina is in like manner the only name by which we know the woman who for more than twenty years was the mistress of Pietro Bembo, the secretary of Pope Leo X., who was elected to the cardinal's chair in 1538.

In Russia.

In Russia the change is a common one. It is constantly employed to form surnames which are derived from the father's prænomen, and which (in the case of daughters) end in *owna* or in *ewna*, as Petrowna, Alexiewna, the daughter of Peter or of Alexis; but there the custom ends. In Poland, on the contrary, it respectively affects the name of the father and of the husband, and by means of a termination which is peculiar to each, it most ingeniously describes the daughter or the wife.* The last-named instance seems to me to contribute very materially to the perfection of proper names.

In Dalmatia.

In a Morlachian poem, which was discovered by the traveller Fortis,† the wife of the warrior Asanaga is called Asanaghiniza. Can we infer from this single instance that the Polish customs had reached the mountain districts of

* Potocka, Mnizekowa, the wife of Potocki, or of Mnizek. The daughters are indicated, as they are in Russia, by the terminations *owna*, or *ewna*.

† Fortis. Travels in Dalmatia. (French Translation. Berne, 1778, 2 vols., 8vo.) Vol. i., pp. 140-149.

Dalmatia? If they had been really introduced there by the genius of the Sclavonic language, which is the mother, as it were, of the Morlachian and Polish idioms, why can we not trace them in those countries whose languages are derived from the same origin, viz., in Russia, in Hungary, and in Bohemia? We can only answer the question by a general remark, the justice of which has been proved more than once, that chance, having had more to do with the institution of proper names than any rational principle or system, the most natural mode of perfecting such a system has frequently escaped the notice of men whose attention it might otherwise have been expected to engross.

The inquiry becomes more general in its application. Why did not the custom prevail wherever the rules of language were not repugnant to it? Was it not likely that it should have prevailed in Italy from the force of example, and from the fact that a community of name was first introduced in the higher classes, and subsequently became a necessary consequence of marriage. The nature of the names which first became permanent did not admit of this custom; the necessary alteration was wholly inapplicable to party or to family names, or even to the father's name in the Latin form of the genitive case; as to the names which were derived from manorial properties, the alteration must have told upon the *title* of the property which became common to *lord* and *lady*, and not upon the name of the thing possessed.

The lower classes, who are less observant of conventional rules and greater followers of natural instincts, often supply the place of names which they do not yet possess to distinguish the one from the other of the married couple who bear the same name, by means of a similar alteration. This

is the case in many parts of France.* The alteration of the patronymic title is sometimes sufficiently great to characterize each member of the family, but as such provincial forms are too simple not to be tinged with something of the ridiculous,† they are only admissible in the domestic circle, and are not copied into the public records.

SECTION XLIX.

THE WIFE'S FAMILY NAME SHOULD ALWAYS BE JOINED TO THAT OF HER HUSBAND.

Why the wifes' name should be joined to that of her husband.

PRIDE connects the armorial bearings of the husband and the wife in the same shield, why should not affection unite their names?

When the wife takes her husband's name, why does not the husband join her name to his own? The custom is a common one in Geneva and in many provinces of France; the law might sanction it and make its use general. A prænomen placed before the family name would designate a bachelor, two family names joined together would indicate one who had been married. In addition to the advantage of making a distinction between the two positions, the one of which should always be encouraged, while the other should

* In the district of Bresse, the wife of a peasant who is called Grebot is called La Grebote. (Mounier, vocabulary of the popular and country dialects of the Jura; Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries of France, vol. v., p. 263.) In Lower Burgundy I have heard the wife of Le Poy called La Poite.

† In the Province of Poitou a man may be called Rouland, his wife will be called Roulante, his son Roulu, his daughter Rouluche, his youngest son Rouluchet, etc. (Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries of France, vol. i., p. 225.)

always be discountenanced, there would be that of having a constant standing memorial of the name of the particular family from which the husband had had the honour of selecting a suitable companion. In such a state of affairs it would be difficult to meet with ill-assorted marriages—marriages I mean between persons of different rank; people would no longer be forced to blush when they heard their names mentioned, and all prejudices would vanish before the right-minded and noble sentiment that admits none to be an improper alliance which is not also wholly in defiance of the merely ordinary proprieties of life. These proprieties will, in one point of view, be all the more strictly observed. Whilst the merchant and the man of business, to whom credit and character are indispensable, would be able by his very name to announce what accession of wealth his marriage had caused to his own; the man who is endeavouring to secure public esteem (and this is a want which must be experienced by all classes of society) would manifest what value he set upon it by the estimation in which the name he had associated with his own was held.

I might go on still further, and point out how, by the combination of proper names, a distinctive title for the father of a family might be invented. We could easily surpass the Arab custom, which consists in the father's adopting the name of a favourite child, so that by that very favouritism he estranges himself, as it were, from the rest of his family. Such a refinement as this would not be in harmony with our usual customs; even the philosophic mind would look upon it as more attractive than right, and less real than it appeared to be. Celibacy and marriage depend upon our own will; it is quite justifiable, therefore, to censure the one or to praise the other.

A right to the title "father of a family" is a gift of nature which is often refused to men whose feelings would otherwise make them most worthy of it; sometimes, too, after it has once existed, the right has been removed. Would it be just to remind that man constantly of his misfortune, by depriving him of a name which more fortunate men around him are privileged to enjoy? Would not this be like a return to the old days of superstition which saw in such a misfortune a divinely awarded punishment—a superstition so powerful in its influences that, in order to curse the enemy who had armed himself with it as a taunt against the prophet of Islamism, the latter was obliged to call down from heaven the 108th chapter of the Koran?*

SECTION I.

ON THE CHANGING OF NAMES—IT PRESUPPOSES A CHANGE OF CONDITION.

Instances of the many ways in which names may undergo change.

With us a woman changes her name when she marries; among the Caribs of the Antilles† it was the custom for husband and wife to exchange names. In Rome formerly, and at the present day in the Cape Verd islands, a liberated slave takes the name of his old master;‡ the adopted person

* *As*, the son of Vaël, called Mahomet, Abtar. "It is the common insult offered to a man who has no male issue by which he can transmit his name to posterity. Mahomet was so sensitive on this point that he was obliged to summon Gabriel to bring him this especial chapter, the conclusion of which is to the effect that the enemies of the prophet shall incur the curse of which they have accused him.' D'Herbelot, bibl. orient., art. Cautzer.

† The Father Dutertre, "Histoire générale des Antilles," etc. (3 vols. 4to, Paris, 1667), vol. ii., p. 378.

‡ Adventures of a traveller in the island of St. Yago.—Galignani's repertory (June 1820), vol. ix., p. 188.

substitutes the name of the person who adopts him for his own; the law allows that a donor or testator may require that his name should be taken by the person benefited.

What is a change of name? Consistently with the principles which I have laid down with respect to identity of name and person, it must be a sign of some change undergone either in feeling or in position. The liberated man undergoes a thorough change in his mode of existence; the legatee, the adopted man, or the wife, exchange even their families; the husband comes out of one family in which he has only held a subordinate position to found another of which he shall be the head. A new name in each case is the recognized sign of new relationships, new privileges, new duties.

Such changes imply a change of position.

After Semiramis had been drawn into a war in consequence of the resentment which she felt against one who had rejected her advances of love, and after she had seen her lover, Ara, the prince of Armenia, a corpse at her feet, she restored the government of Armenia to the hands of his son Gardus on one condition only, that he should take the name of Ara. At the request of King Emmanuel, Blaise of Albuquerque exchanged his prænomen for that of Alphonso, which his father had borne, the conqueror of India whose last days were embittered by his mistrust of an ungrateful prince. The Babylonish queen, and the Portuguese monarch both wished to delude themselves into the idea that the father would be revived in the son, and that in the one case the change would serve to stifle regrets inspired by an insatiable feeling of ambition, and in the other by feelings which were quite as real but more deserving of sympathy.

When the avengers of the death of Albert of Austria made it a condition that if the life of the last son of Walter d' Eschi-

Instances of changes in names.

bach were saved, he should thenceforth take the name of Schwartzemberg,* they thought they would at the same time obliterate the name of one of the emperor's murderers, and give a renewed existence as it were to the infant they were about to save from the general extermination of his family.

The change of name which was intended to restore peace to Genoa† resulted in the creation of a number of new citizens; if at least we can give the title of new citizens to the members of an aristocracy; the recollection of quarrels that had once been so numerous and so bitter have passed away, and have vanished never to return.

A law was passed in 1790 by which the French were forbidden to use names that were derived from either real or imaginary properties, and by which they were ordered to resume their own old family titles; the law was not strictly enforced, from fear of involving all their civil transactions in a hopeless confusion. In the higher classes it was equivalent to a total change of name, and would have ended in the same political results. It would have broken the thread of all their old traditions, and would have put an end, or almost an end, to all historical names; each individual must have made his own merits known, for his name would not have represented any former merit of his ancestors. We should have had an entire nation of new men, in the sense that the Romans used the expression; it would have been a moral complement of the revolution.

* Bullinger—History of the town of Zurich (in German), bk. v., ch. 10., p. 560. The author tells us that the fief of Schwartzemberg had come into the family through marriage. *N. B.*—Bullinger's work, which remained in manuscript, may be found in several libraries. See also the Conservateur Suisse (7 vols., 12mo, Lausanne, 1813), vol. ii., p. 273.

† See above, Section 41.

In 1568, Philip enacted a law that the Moors who lived in Spain should abandon the use of their peculiar idiom, and of their national names and surnames, and substitute in their stead Spanish idioms and Spanish names.* He hoped to make new men of them, to *denationalize* them, if we may use the term, and to merge them into his own people. He had a keen appreciation of the value of proper names, but like all despotic sovereigns, he was blind to the influence of time, which can alone produce the gradual fusion of a conquering with a conquered people, more especially when differences in religion add their overwhelming weight to one side of the balance. Instances of changes in names.

The Moors obeyed, but still retained their national feelings and religious beliefs; later, however, when they were compelled to choose between exile, on the one hand, and apostacy on the other, they returned to their old country, and carried back with them a number of Spanish names. Accordingly, in several Mauritanian families descended from the Andalusian Mussulmans, we still find the names of Perez, Santiago, Valenciano, Aragon, etc., names which have sometimes led European authors into error, and made them fancy they saw apostates from Christianity amongst the descendants of the martyrs of Islamism.

When the system of slavery was in full force throughout the world, excess of work and privations were not the greatest of the miseries inflicted upon a sex with whom life is less precious than modesty; as soon as a woman had become the mere toy of public debauchery, it was enacted by law that she should change her name. It was taken for granted that

* R. Watson—History of Philip II., book ix., vol. i., p. 290 (3 vols. 8vo, Basil, 1792).

Instances of changes in names.

she had only been reduced to such a state of disgrace by some kind of force, and it was not thought right that she should prostitute both her person and the name which allied her to some honourable family. The law was obeyed even when the disgrace had been voluntarily incurred; obedience to it secured the sorry privilege of not being obliged to burn with shame, quite so often, at the remembrance of more virtuous times.

The robbers whose trade it was to carry men away and sell them as slaves, needed no legal compulsion to change the names of their slaves. The precaution which they naturally took in this matter, baffled the researches of disconsolate parents, who could only endeavour to recover their lost children by a description which was always imperfect and always uncertain.

In modern times the same system has been adopted, although it has not been dictated by equally prudential motives. The laws of Christian Europe have even in our own times legalized the sale of slaves. As soon as a negro had landed in the colonies it was usual for his purchaser to give him a new name; in point of fact the wretched man had ceased to be what he was, when in his native country he answered to his own name; in the eyes of his master he was no longer a man, he was only a beast of burden or an animated piece of mechanism.

SECTION LI.

A CHANGE OF NAME MARKS ELEVATION IN RANK OR ACCESSION OF DIGNITY.

What is generally implied by a change of name?

WITH a change of name we generally connect the idea of elevation in rank or accession of greater dignity and honour.

The chiefs of an American tribe in North America, take, or rather receive a new name when they have earned it by their exploits.*

English travellers have made a note of the circumstance, as being worthy of observation; they might have recognized in it one of their own national institutions. After great services (real or imaginary), a gallant officer, a judge, or a minister, is made a lord, and deems it an honour to forego the name of his ancestors, and to adopt that of some frequently imaginary property.

Elevation in rank is implied.

Artaxerxes Memnon, before he ascended the throne, was called Arsicas, or Arsaces.† This change of name was connected with an old custom which prevailed in Ethiopia and Persia, which, moreover, was always observed by the Emperors of China,‡ and has also been retained in India§ by the descendants of Timour. Throughout the East, when the sovereign was crowned he received a new name. Temugin was not called Gengis (Tchinggis), a name which he rendered so terribly famous, until he had been acknowledged as their

* Carver, Voyage to North America. Part ii., ch. xii., p. 286.

† Plutarch in Artaxerx., section 1.

‡ Mailla, History of China, vol. i., observation lxx.

§ Voyages of Pietro della Valle (8 vols., 12mo, Paris, 1745), vol. vi., pp. 313-315.

Instances quoted to prove the above.

Khan by the Mongolian hordes. When Pharaoh Nechoh placed Eliakim, the son of Josiah, upon the throne of Judah, he called him Jehoiakim, and Nebuchadnezzar gave to that shadow of a king, Mattaniah, whom he left in Jerusalem, the name of Zedekiah.*

It is curious to observe a similar practice in the midst of a negro tribe. The king of Quoy, who is subject to the king of Folgia, cannot ascend the throne until he has done suit and service to his sovereign lord; he prostrates himself upon the ground,† and receives a new name, at the same time that he takes the title of Dondagh, *i.e.*, sole chief or monarch. In every case it is the carrying out of the same principle: viz., the outward expression of a wish to bring forward the recently appointed sovereign as a new person divinely called to the supreme power, having nothing in common with his former individuality, which was from his very birth to be one of passive obedience.

The Greeks, in olden times, used to change their names on the smallest possible pretence, and with the greatest indifference; it is therefore not surprising to find the old customs of Ethiopia and Persia reproduced during the period of the Lower Empire. When they were respectively proclaimed Emperors, Artemius took the name of Anastasius, and Basil that of Tiberius.‡ During the time when family names were beginning to be introduced, in the imperial house at least, Alexius Angelus drove his brother Isaac Angelus from the throne, and omitting the name which was common to both of

* 2 Kings, ch. xxiii. v. 34; ch. xxiv. v. 17.

† O. Dapper, Description of Africa (folio, Amsterdam, 1686), pp. 264, 265.

‡ Nicephor. patriarch. Const. Hist., cap. vii. and cap. x.

them, either because it was too humble a name, or because he thought it ought to be consigned to oblivion with the prince who bore it, Alexius took the name of Comnenus. The highest in rank in the kingdom followed the example of the prince. When he received the title of Cæsar, David took the name of Tiberius, and John of Bulgaria took that of Alexius when he married the niece of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. Instances continued.

The Emperors of Japan and those of China go even farther than the ancient sovereigns of the East. After their death they receive a new name. It was a real apotheosis; they are endued as it were with a new existence when they pass from this mortal life into intimate union with the Deity. The Manchow dynasty, which is now the ruling dynasty in China, adopted this custom, but gave it an extraordinary retrospective influence. It consecrated with *imperial* names in the public records, four of its ancestors, who had died in the character of mere chiefs of hordes, before that dynasty had become the ruling one. Sometime, perhaps, these fictitious emperors will cause confusion in the ordinary course of Chinese history; or they may perhaps serve the useful purpose of enabling a chronologist to square his own theories with the number of the princes that attained to sovereign power, and the length of their reigns.

The annals of Christianity furnish us with an instance of a posthumous change of name. At the head of five hundred monks who came down from the deserts of Upper Egypt, Ammonios had attacked Orestes, the Governor of Alexandria, and wounded him severely. He was eventually tortured to death. St. Cyril, whose hatred he had served, offered this

assassin monk to the veneration of the faithful as a martyr to the faith, and instead of Ammonios called him Thaumasios or the Admirable.*

SECTION LII.

SOME CHANGES IN NAMES ARE REGULATED BY THE RELIGION PROFESSED OR THE SUPERSTITION EMBRACED.

Changes in names may be regulated by feelings of religion, or superstition.

IN the reign of Justinian, John of Cappadocia was deprived of all his offices and ordained priest in spite of himself; at the same time he received the name of Peter.† Inversely, this was an application of the same principle; the idea being, that by changing the name, the man would forget his former self, and be to others and to himself, if it were possible, an absolutely new man.

This avowed intention was founded upon the religious principle. A man lost his civil name and took some religious title when he entered any of the monastic orders of the Latin Church. Not satisfied with this change, the Greek Church gives a new name to her converts from another persuasion, and to those persons, who, without being attached to any religious establishment, are honoured with the dignities of the priesthood. Each of these acts seems to imply a true regeneration, the beginning of a new existence.

It also denotes the beginning of a new existence in the case of the election which raises a man to the High Priesthood, who had formerly only ranked as second in the Catholic

* Socrates, Hist. Eccles., lib. vii., cap. xiv. (gr. lat. Moguntiæ, 1677), pp. 351, 352.

† Procop., De bello Pers., lib. i., ch. xv.

Church. Anecdotes of doubtful authority, of no importance, and at variance with chronology, need not be raked up to account for the origin of a custom which was adopted as early as the eleventh century, from the time when the influence of the popes had been established on a firm basis. The elect of the conclave, when he took a new name, was presented as an object of veneration to the faithful, a new man. The temporal prince, the spiritual head, has no longer anything in common with the individual who, yesterday, mixed with the crowd who are now his subjects.

As soon as the chief priests of the Eleusinian mysteries had been consecrated, they lost their individual names; to address them by it was looked upon as a crime; having become "Hieronymi," they were only henceforth to be addressed by the titles of the holy offices they had to perform; the human element in their character had disappeared, all that remained was their position as minister of heaven.

Among the many similarities which exist between religious initiations and the various sects of ancient philosophy, we may notice the care with which the disciples of Pythagoras avoided the mention of his name during his lifetime; they always used to speak of him as "*that man*," or "*the divine*." The proper name, significant in character, and common to others, was no longer adapted to him who was pre-eminently *the master*.

As the end of all initiations is to admit people into a new existence, it would seem more natural, if, far from being limited to the chief priests of the mysteries (as was the custom at Eleusis), the change of name had extended in its application to all those who were admitted to the mysteries at all. This was the case in Africa, in the formidable society

of the Belli; every one who was initiated received a new name from the priests.

There were formerly great mysterious influences attached to a change of names by the religious philosophers, of which Philo's treatise may give us a good idea; they have not affected civilization, and do not therefore necessarily fall under our notice.

Instances of superstitious credulity will unfortunately come within the scope of our observations on this subject. There have been times when men believed that, by a change of name, they could elude the malignant influences of an invisible and unfriendly deity. The Jews used to change their name after a long illness. In Livonia, if a child fell sick within six weeks from the time of its birth, its father would give it a new name without delay, firmly convinced that the one he had given first was unsuitable.

The natives of New Holland, near neighbours of the colony at Botany Bay, men who have made the least progress in civilization, are not strangers to a superstitious belief in the good or evil influences of names. After a funeral ceremony, those who have been present at it are especially requested never, under any pretext whatsoever, to mention the deceased again; and if the same name be borne by any one, it is immediately changed.

SECTION LIII.

CHANGE OF NAMES IN ITALY, RESULTING—FIRST, FROM AN ADMIRATION, AMONG MEN OF LETTERS, FOR THE WRITERS OF ANTIQUITY; SECONDLY, FROM THE COMMON PRACTICE OF DISTINGUISHING A MAN BY THE NAME OF HIS COUNTRY.

Changes of names in Italy.

A HIGHER kind of superstition threatened to make a total change in the system of proper names in Italy when literature began to be introduced. Carrying their admiration for the writers of Athens and of Rome almost to idolatry, the literary characters of the period affected to call themselves by Greek and Roman names; some changed their names and prænomina altogether, whilst others were satisfied with a slighter alteration. Battista Cipelli* is only known in the history of literature by the name of Egnazio; Jean Paul Parisio, a Neapolitan, called himself Aulus Janus Parrhasius; the real name of Annius of Viterbo was Nanni; Pietro Bolzani, who, from his earliest days, shewed a strong tendency for the cultivation of letters, was called by his master Pierio, which meant consecrated-to-the-Muses, and by that name Pierius he is described on the title page of an important work on the deciphering of hieroglyphics.

A desire to return to the customs of the olden times went so far, that the poets did not hesitate to give the name of Jove† to God the Father and to Jesus Christ. In the sixteenth century, it was not thought extraordinary that a pri-

* Born in Venice in 1478.

† "O Sommo Giove, per noi crocifisso!" Morgante, cant. ii., st. i. Sommo Giove is a poetical name which all the old Italian poets give to the deity.

Curious adoption of the ancient names.

vilege should be granted by the *pro-prætor* of Paris for an impression of a history of Rome by Paulus Æmylius,* nor did it seem at all out of the way that Paulus Jovius should speak of *comitia*, of *conscript fathers*, and of a certain individual who had been elected without having put on *the white robe of a candidate*, when all the time he was merely describing an assembly of cardinals met in solemn conclave for the election of a pope.†

A catastrophe, which it would have been difficult to foresee, naturally moderated the ardour of such innovations or restorations, whichever they were called. An academy had been formed in Rome whose members all took either Latin or Greek names. Paul II., a fierce despot, and so great an enemy to the advancement of literature that he did all he could to divert the Romans from allowing their children to devote themselves to study, and pretended that it was quite sufficient that they should know how to read and write; this same Paul II.‡ accused the academy of the double crime of heresy and conspiracy. Its learned members having been thrown into prison and subjected to torture, declared that it had only been their intention to remind themselves, by means of these new names, of the necessity for acting consistently with the characters which the names represented.§ However, they remained for a year or more in prison; in those days the powers that be could not afford to own that they had made a mistake.

If it were merely the adoption of Greek and Roman names

* Cautum est edicto proprætoris Parisiensis, etc. (Pauli Æmylii de rebus gestis Francorum, etc.) Folio, Parisiis, 1543.

† Pauli Jovii illustrium virorum vitæ (Folio, Florentiæ, 1551), pp. 18, 19.

‡ Platina, De vitis max. pontif. in Paul II. vitâ.

§ Platina (*Ibid*).

that had alarmed the Pope, he might have been reminded that there had been an academy founded by Charlemagne, and that all its members, with the Emperor at their head, had adopted ancient names. If it were only necessary to justify the alteration or the change of proper names, a commonly received custom, which remained in existence long after the period we are speaking of, would furnish a sufficient excuse. Family names were neither universally established nor were they consequently unalterably fixed. No one in the next century blamed Lancelotto Politi for the devotion he manifested to St. Ambrose and St. Catherine, which led him to take the name of Ambrogio Catarino, a name by which he distinguished himself as a theologian at the Council of Trent. No one found fault with Taddeo Cucchi, bishop of Foligno (who also distinguished himself at the same council), for calling himself Isidoro Clario, after Chiari, the name of his native country. Nor again did any one blame Antonio Giocchi, afterwards elected cardinal, for giving up his own name, and assuming that of Del Monte,* because his family had originally sprung from Del Monte San Savino in Tuscany.

Further instances of the adoption of ancient names.

The bishop of Foligno and the cardinal who bequeathed the name Del Monte to his nephew Pope Julius III., had both acted in conformity with a very ancient custom in Italy, and one which is scarcely obselete yet, viz., that of describing a person by the name of his native country or of his usual place of abode, more frequently than by his proper name. The families of Bassano and Caraviggio, and most of the painters and sculptors of Italy, are only known by names of this kind. We do not speak of Paul Cagliari or of Bernardo Divizio, but of Paul Veronese and the Cardinal Bibbiena.

* Onufrio Panvini. In vitâ, Jul. III.

The real name of the celebrated Angelo Poliziano was Bassi, and Ganzarini was the family name of the Scandianese.* The Pisani, whose name was derived from their native country, had no other title in Venice, whilst a branch of the same family in Pisa bore the name of Bassi.† When we wish to name the gallant soldier who was punished by the Venetian government, by means of an odious act of treachery in 1432, after being himself charged with treason (falsely or otherwise it is not for me to say), we must not speak of Francesco Bartolomeo Bussone, but of Carmagnola, the name of the village where that distinguished general was born. After he had been expelled from Lucca, during a period of religious persecution, the father of a family came to settle in Geneva; he was usually called there by the name of his country, the one he had received from his ancestors was lost and forgotten, but the name of Deluc is the one which the refugee transmits to his descendants, and which will be preserved in the history of the sciences.‡

Instances of arbitrary and absurd changes in names.

After having, in the first instance, created a great number of names that were destined to become permanently established, the custom to which I have alluded was the cause why many disappeared which had already become hereditary, and therefore was all the more likely to facilitate an optional change of names. Marcus Antonius Majoraggius,§ who wrote a treatise which was intended to prove that he had the right to

* Matteo Maria Boiardo, count of Scandiano. (*Tr.'s note.*)

† Freschot, *Nouvelle relation, etc.*, 3d part, p. 159.

‡ I received this piece of information from Mr. J. A. Deluc, the son of the celebrated naturalist, and the author of a deservedly esteemed work, the History of Hannibal's Passage over the Alps, etc. 8vo, Paris, 1818.

§ His real name was Marie-Antoine Conti; he was born in 1514 at Majoraggio, a small village in the Milanese territory.

change his name without incurring any blame, invented the last of his three titles by giving a kind of Roman termination to the name of his native country. Jean-Francois *Conti*, the son of a peasant of Quinzano, was, from childhood, called by the name of his native village; by means of a slight alteration he changed it to Quinziano, and fancied he saw in that title the Italian translation of the Latin name Quintianus, the friend of Martial and the severe criticizer of his lines. The Italian writer pretended, when he alluded to this matter, that his fellow-students, whose verses he was in the habit of correcting most cleverly, had given him the name of Quinziano. It is easy to see that feelings of vanity, as well as feelings of superstition, and a desire to flatter the great, can adorn the origin of a proper name and its alteration, with an appropriate tale.

The name Quinziano was merely an absurdity; all those who changed their names in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were at once absolved through the evident innocence of their motives, the prevalence of an established custom, and the absence of all laws for the regulation of fixed family names; but the question may surely be asked in a broad form, can it be right that the legislature should leave such points to be regulated by the caprice of individuals, or by their arbitrary choice?

SECTION LIV.

IMPORTANCE OF THESE CHANGES IN THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.

The importance of changes in names is not everywhere the same.

A CHANGE of name seems generally to imply a certain fickleness of disposition, or gives one an idea that the need of such a change has been felt with a view to escape from the public opinion which may have been passed on some unfortunate trait in a man's past life. More or less importance, however, will be attached to the change, according to the variety of the institutions amongst which it takes place. It is less important in its results in individual names than it is in hereditary appellations.

In Spain and in Portugal an arbitrary multiplicity of names and prænomina makes them valueless; any change in such cases must be of little consequence. That the name Inigo was altered to Ignazio would hardly have been noticed had not the individual who had adopted the alteration been the founder of the celebrated society which our ancestors so justly proscribed.*

It would be difficult to rid names that are at once individual and significant, of a liability to changes caused by feelings of affection, esteem, or vanity. According to the account of Grotius, the fifth of the Visigoth princes who reigned in Spain, changed his name of Theodoric to Evaric or Euric, which signified *legislator*. Posterity was able to ratify the title, and Euric himself deserved it well, for he was the

* Llorente—History of the Inquisition, ch. xxx., vol. iii., pp. 102, 103. If we may believe a satirist (the Pastimes of the Jesuits, 3 vols. 12mo, 1721, vol. i., pp. 10, 11), the change was adopted in consequence of the numerous jokes which were suggested by the name Inigo to the young student with whom Ignatius Loyola studied grammar in Paris.

first to draw up in writing the various customs which prevailed among the Visigoths, and to give them the force of law.

Aristotle, in the first instance, gave the name Euphrastus (he that speaketh well) to his favourite disciple Tyrtames, and afterwards called him Theophrastus (he that speaketh divinely). Theophrastus proved himself worthy of his master's good opinion; but changes in names generally, which were common among the Greeks, were not always as well received. The value set upon names that had been dictated by a mere feeling of vanity was often publicly manifested amongst that refined and witty people. More than one Greek epigram might be quoted to prove this.* Demosthenes reproaches Æschines for having altered his father's name in order to make it more illustrious.

When the legal transmission of heritable property depends materially upon a coincident transmission of name, and when the latter is the connecting link of a family, any change should naturally be forbidden by law; and yet, in the time of the Commonwealth, it was not forbidden in Rome. The law entitled "Cornelia de falsis" only refers to those who sign false names, and does not in any way forbid a change of names if it be done publicly. It is obvious that it is quite useless to forbid what no one would dream of doing.

The Emperor Claudius tried, by the passing of a special law, to prevent the adoption of Roman family names by foreigners. This was not the prohibition of a change in names, but of an undue assumption of the privileges and respect due to the title of a Roman citizen.

About the time to which I have already alluded, just as at the time when the system of Roman nomenclature was alto-

* See also Theophrast. Charact. Eth., ch. xxviii.

gether changed, Diocletian passed a law which authorized changes in names, provided such changes were public and without fraudulent intent; he was simply adapting the ordinary course of his legislation to a custom which had become too general to be quite abolished.

Modern institutions prevent changes in names.

The nature, complication, and variety of social events in modern nations give stability to influential names. If we had to enumerate all the suits to which an illegal use or change of names had given rise, we should have to give an account of one-half of the reports of the law courts.

A proclamation of Amboise in 1555 forbad any change of either name or arms in France. Dishonesty stepped in, and tried to evade the law. A man of gentle family would sign his promises with the name of his property, and when summoned before a court of justice, would appear in his family name, and plead ignorance of the obligation incurred under the other name, and for which he was sued under his landed title. The States-General of 1614 passed an injunction that all gentle-folk (in any deeds they had to execute) should sign their family names, and not the names of their properties. The higher courts acted in conformity with this principle, so that in their judgments they avoided all mention of properties, and only recited family names of acknowledged standing.

The above was a precaution which seemed likely to give a check to the movements of a number of persons of low extraction, who first disguised their family name under the title of some property, and then assumed the appearance, and very soon the honours and prerogatives of nobility. However, on the one hand, the assumption became confirmed by undisturbed and publicly recognised possession, so that in the course of two generations a right was established which was

Evasions of the law, and cases in which names became changed.

not called in question by the courts so long as it was not otherwise contested; on the other hand, as we have already seen, many reasons might contribute to the adoption of the very same territorial names by members of the middle classes and by country landholders, which feudal rights authorised their nobility to bear. And this occurred all the more frequently, because the same name was common to several towns, and several villages; consequently a similarity of names in the humbler classes was inevitable, and notwithstanding the loud protestations of the nobles, could not be affected by any law.

The higher ranks of the nobility, in their turn, might often have lodged complaints against their inferiors for a similar offence. If a great family's property had become dependent upon the life of a sole heiress, the man who married her would be glad to join the illustrious name of his bride to his own. The law did not forbid this. But in the second or third generation, the illustrious name was the only one retained, and the right was very soon assumed to bear it in direct line on the *male* side. A great number of genealogies have been materially affected by surreptitious heirs of this kind. There are very few cases, however, in which the attempt at deception has escaped even ordinary examination, and in which its only result has not been that a name which was originally held in general estimation has been obliterated because it had been given up by the descendants of the man who bore it first. Thus the pride which made an attempt to deceive, met on its way the pride which was offended by the attempted deceit, and the latter unmasked in its vain efforts, only became an object of ridicule to the thoughtful, whilst it failed to command the respect of the multitude. That a

general rule should be enforced by the state, with legal forms which should everywhere be the same; that a change of name should be forbidden in all cases, except those in which the regular authorities permitted a change, provided it were effected with the greatest publicity; that the assuming of a different name should be punished as a forgery; that deeds in which names were altered or erased should be considered invalid: these, I think, are among the chief conditions which would tend to the perfecting of our social system. There are many other reasons which might be adduced why, in the giving of prænomena, and in the composition and orthography of family names, there should be a greater element of simplicity, regularity, and exactitude, than we have enjoyed hitherto.

SECTION LV.

ALTERATION OF FOREIGN NAMES THROUGH FAULTY PRONUNCIATION OR MISTAKES IN ORTHOGRAPHY.

Peculiarities of sound, and differences of value in letters, in various languages.

THERE is, I think, no language which does not either reject or admit modifications of certain articulated sounds to the exclusion of others. The Iota of the Spanish, the ch of the German languages, are not found to occur in either French or English.* The Θ (Theta) of the Greeks, the th of the English, and the z of the Spanish are wanting in French. The Germans have no such sound as that of the French ll; the Armenian† gh is represented in Europe by l as an equivalent sound; and the r of the Berbers, who are settled near Algeria

* The letter r is pronounced so gutturally by the inhabitants of Tuscany, that it very nearly resembles the sound of the Spanish iota.

† J. Saint Martin—Mémoires sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 215.

and Marocco,* is represented by the hard sound of the g. The letter l does not occur in Zend words; these last are somewhat altered as they change into the Pehlví dialect, which, in order to soften its sound, changes the r into l.† The Chinese, on the other hand, have no r ;‡ they substitute an l for it, and interpose one or more vowels between consonants, which in other languages would be joined together. The Lombards have changed the hard k or c into ts§ before i or e, and thus have introduced into the Italian language a pronunciation which was unknown to the Latins. The Arabs in their more vulgar idiom, also changed k into ts,‖ and both these modes of pronunciation seem to have been used indifferently in China.¶ Can we reasonably suppose that these numerous varieties are the result of custom? Are they not

* Volney — L'Hébreu simplifié par la méthode Alphabétique. (Hebrew simplified by an alphabetic method.) Complete works, vol. viii., pp. 508, 509.

† Zend-avesta, vol. ii., p. 215.

‡ The letter r is allowed at the end of some words in several of the provincial dialects.

§ "The Lombards," says Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de administr. imp. ch. xxvii.), "founded a city near Benevento, which they called Tsita Nova (Citta Nova), the meaning of which is the new city." During the time that Pepin was waging war against the Venetians, "the Doge lived in a place which was called Tsivita Nova." (*Ibid.*, c. xxviii.) When he names the ancient cities of Italy, such, for instance, as Licentia, Constantine always expresses the Latin c by the letter k. The same practice was followed by all the Greek writers both during the commonwealth and the empire, viz., by Polybius, Dion, Appian, Plutarch, Herodian, etc., which proves, in spite of the assertions of the Italians to the contrary, that the Romans used to say Kikero, Kerellia, as in the names Marcus, Cornelius, etc., and not Tchitchero, Tcherellia, etc.

‖ The Arabs say Pselb and Pchelb for Kelb. (Volney, Hebrew Simplified, etc. Complete works, vol. viii., p. 416.)

¶ The first of the Chow dynasty was called Ki or Tsi, which means disdained, abandoned.

rather (besides being the expression of the accent peculiar to each province) the natural result of a difference of climate, and of its effect on our organs of speech? I am disposed to adopt this view, for among the Hebrews, a people who are known to be most attached to their own customs, and tenaciously jealous of any foreign introductions—the Hebrews, who have been established in China (for the last eighteen centuries, it is true), have disfigured their national names quite as much as the Chinese could have done, and instead of saying Jeremiah say Jalemeïohang.*

Strangers can never pronounce names like a native.

Whatever the reason may be, the fact cannot be disputed, and we may therefore infer that a name is never, or hardly ever, pronounced by a stranger as it is by a native. In the Italian name Serse, the Persians would hardly recognise the fourth successor of the founder of their empire, whom they call Khschearscha.† The inhabitants of Otaheite used to call our own celebrated Bougainville, Potaveri. The Japanese say Covorin, instead of Golovnin.‡ The Armenians pronounce our names Alexander, Paul, Lazarus, and Cyril, Aghek'hsantros, Boghos, Ghazav, and Giouregh. As the Geez or Ethiopian language, with its twenty-five letters, had no consonant that answered to the letter p, we find in the old Ethiopian books Ketros, instead of Petros or Peter; Paulus is written Taulus, Oulus, or Caulus, etc.

Like the consonants, vowels and diphthongs alter in value in different languages, and even in the same language they vary sometimes in sound. A study of the English language,

* Volney, Hebrew Simplified, etc. Complete works, vol. viii., p. 504.

† See the explanation given by M. de Saint Martin respecting an inscription at Persepolis—Asiatic Journal, vol. ii., p. 83.

‡ Voyage of Golovnin, etc., vol. i., p. 161.

and a comparison of its forms with the French, will furnish us with numerous instances of what I mean. What mistakes and inaccuracies must inevitably result in the pronunciation of foreign names. Then again in the Chaldæan, Syriac, Hebrew, and Phœnician languages, vowels were not inserted between the consonants; they were supplied by the reader, who is guided by a custom which has varied considerably with time and place, and by a system whose few remaining vestiges the most learned men of modern times have had the greatest difficulty to trace. In Ayoub we recognize the name Job, Abraham in Ibrahim, and Solomon in Suleiman. When learned men in Germany write Rheabeam and Zitkias, and in France, Roboam and Sédécias (Rehoboam and Zedekiah), they both mean to designate the same two individuals, viz., the son of Solomon and his descendant the last king of Judah. It is impossible for any one to calculate in how many other names of men, nations, and places, such an irregular use of vowels may have misled us as to the identity of an individual.

Similarity of sound leads to alterations in names.

There are other changes which to all appearance are less involuntary, and which depend either upon custom or a natural desire to find a familiar form or a familiar sound in names that are new to us. It was according to this rule that the name of the traveller Salt was changed by the Abyssinians into Saul. To this source, also, rather than to any difficulties of spelling or of pronunciation we must attribute the many variations to which the Greeks submitted the proper names of the nations which they called barbarian. Far from attempting to represent the foreign sounds which were so offensive to their delicate ears, they gave every name a Greek form, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, or Ochus, might have heard their names

* Houschousch, according to M. de Saint Martin. Asiatic Jour., vol. ii., p. 85.

pronounced by a Greek without suspecting that they were the subject of conversation. The same persons are differently named by Herodotus and Ctesias, the greater accuracy being on the side of Ctesias; he had been at the Persian court for a considerable time and was the more likely of the two to adhere closely to the native orthography and pronunciation.

Instances of altered names, in more ancient times.

Writers were not more accurate during the period of the Lower Empire. Only those who are well versed in history can guess that Joel meant Otho when he spoke of Loucibios.* The names which the Greeks disfigured most were those of the Mussulmans, their enemies, their mercenaries, and at last their masters. Cuxim, or Cutzim Paxis, a Tartar Mussulman, gave his daughter in marriage to Soliman Paxis. Pachymerus, who relates the fact, adds that Cutzim Paxis means the chief of the Hieromagi. When we bear in mind the difficulty which the Greeks must have felt to express the strong aspirate of Eastern words with any of their own consonants, we shall understand the form Soliman Pasha, and Hossein or Hussein Pacha. Hossein, the third of the Imaums, is held in great honour by the descendants of Ali, who call him the martyr, or the lord; these titles will explain that of "sacred chief of the magi" (or priests), which is the one given by the Byzantine historian. The Romans also used to alter foreign names; but not so vain as the Greeks, or, perhaps, because there was more system in their pride, they made no attempts

* Joelis chronographia compendiaria (printed at the end of Georgii Acropolitæ historiæ, Gr. lat., folio, Paris, 1651), p. 163. Joel has probably confounded his elder brother, Lucius Salvius, with the Emperor Otho (Marcus Salvius), and from the two names in an abbreviated form makes Lucivius or Lucibios. The same writer on chronology, transforms the epithet Junior into a proper name, and places two Jounors in his list of Roman Emperors.

to trace their own national customs amongst foreigners, customs to which (as in the matter of their national dress) they were almost as much attached as to their privileges and the memorable events connected with them. They were simply victims of that imperfect hearing* or memory which almost invariably leads to the mutilation of a name which we have only heard once. They used to say† Alumento for Laomedon, and Catamitus for Ganymede. Such striking alterations as these will explain how Virgil‡ could trace the origin of the families of Sergius and Memmius to the Trojans Sergestus and Mnestheus. Instances continued.

Even in more recent times we cannot boast of great superiority in this respect. The names of men and places are so constantly subject to alteration in consequence of popular errors respecting them, that we might almost be justified in accepting every etymology of names, or in rejecting all. Not that I find fault with any softening of sounds in some of the harsher names; when civilization has added cultivation to the ear and made it more delicate, such a reform is absolutely necessary, and the orthography of names gradually submits to, and is eventually guided by it; Chlodovech was successively changed into Clovis and Louis; and in our own day, the names Gontran, Clotaire, or Lothaire, and Clotilde would hardly be recognized in their older forms Guntchramn, Chlotachair, and Crotechild. But how can we account for Altered names in modern times.

* The same word is heard in a different manner by a Frenchman and an Englishman, or even by two Frenchmen, or by two Englishmen. Curious instances of this may be found in the account of a voyage round the world by Captain Marchant, by Fleurieu (4 vols. 4to, Paris, 1798, year 6), vol. i., pp. 284 and 581-591.

† S. Pomp. Fest., De verb. signific., under the word Alumento.

‡ Æneid., lib. v., v. 119-123.

the fact that the people of the Basque Provinces, whose alphabet contains the consonants l and r, should say Cakialin instead of Catherine; why in Venice do San Stai, San Stino, San Marcuola, and San Trovaso, represent the names of St. Eustace, St. Stephen, St. Hermagoras, and St. Protais? Whence are the diminutives which are commonly used amongst the English, and which are sometimes so strange in character, and of such a nature that custom alone can detect their meaning; such, for instance, as Molly for Maria; Peggy for Margaret; and Mykin for Isaac. How can we account for the way in which the Roman writers of the middle ages used to change the same name into several different forms, for no reason of either euphony, measure, or rhythm, but simply because they chose to do so?*

Modern historians have frequently been equally reckless in their orthography of proper names. It is only recently that a plausible solution has been found to a problem in history, which is connected with the commencement of the thirteenth century. What was the name of the knight who avenged the murder of the Emperor Philip of Suabia, by the death of Otto of Wittelspalch? Among German writers he has sometimes been described by the addition of the name of a property to his prænomen Henry, as, for instance, Henry Papenheim;† by others he has been called Kalheim, Kalindin, Calantin, and Calandin.‡ A national name could hardly have been subjected to such serious changes as the above;

* See, amongst others, The Romance of Roncesvalles.

† Tolnerus, Hist. Palat. c. xvii., p. 471; Struvius, Corp. hist. germ., period vii., sect. v., § 4.

‡ Conrad Urspergensis, p. 324; Aventin, Annales Boïorum; Muratori, etc.

consequently, the writer of the German tragedy* "Otto of Wittelspach," began to think that this character might be the same as the Italian Henri Calendrini† who had, earlier still, occupied an important position in the reign of Henry the Sixth, Philip's predecessor, and of whom historians speak as Il Tedesco, probably because he had been so long at the German court. Effects of alterations in names upon history.

The above fact, if taken by itself, is of little value; but, at any rate, it serves to shew what difficulties may be thrown in the way of the historian by the alteration of a proper name.

The historians of Italy's golden age have not been sufficiently alive to this truth. Even Guicciardini disfigures the names of the French warriors and merchants, with whom he was contemporary.

How can we recognize De Gourgues in the name Corcù? However, on the other hand, we are forced to acknowledge that the Italians can bring the same charge against the French, and that the Germans might have joined in similar accusations.

If a man of genius in our days, whose historical accuracy has been unjustly called in question—if Voltaire, I mean, has been guilty of the same error, inasmuch as he has disfigured the orthography of most of the Russian names that he quotes, he sought, at least, to represent their real sounds by the

* M. Babo, Nouveau théatre Allemand, 12 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1785; vol. xi., p. 7.

† In Peter of Ebulo's poem, Calandrini seems to be honoured with the post of commander-in-chief, at least over the auxiliaries:—

"Mane dato signo, tunc Calandrinus in alto
Militiæ socium circuit agmen equo."

Petri d'Ebulo, Carmen de motibus Siculis, etc., lib. ii., v. 65, 66.

manner in which he spelt them. He had set himself a difficult task to perform. Even among the people who use the same alphabetical characters,* there are many who assign a different value to the same vowels, the same consonants, and the same diphthongs. If we retain in our own language the true orthography of foreign names, we shall constantly find that they are mutilated by those who pronounce them; if, on the other hand, we change their orthography, we shall run the risk of so disguising them that persons who are in the habit of reading them in the original writings of the country to which they belong, will fail to recognize them. A careless copyist may thus introduce imaginary characters into the records of history and sea voyages. Zea-haen, or sea-fowl, was the name of one of the great navigator Tasman's ships, to whom one of our most distinguished geographers† has very properly restored the credit of having discovered Van Diemen's Land. Certain authors, who probably thought they were rendering the pronunciation more accurately, wrote it Zechaën and Zeachen, and omitting to notice that in this

* The problem becomes more complicated still, when people employ different alphabetical characters. Volney has shewn how this may be done in the Eastern languages, in his two essays on the "Simplifying of the Eastern Languages," and "on the European Alphabet in its Applicability to Asiatic Languages." His principle may, I think, be adapted to all languages. An attempt of this kind has just been successfully made by Mr. Rusk. This learned Dane published a work in 1822, at Colombo, in the island of Ceylon, to which he appended a specimen of Indo-Latin writing, which is composed of Roman letters properly accented, and which is intended to facilitate a comparison between the Hindoo dialects and the languages of Europe.—(Revue Encyclopédique, vol. xviii., p. 431).

† Mr. T. B. B. Eyriès, Mémoires sur l'époque de la découverte de la terre de Van Diémen. (Nouvelles annales de voyages, vol. ii., pp. 11, 24, 25.)

form it was utterly unlike anything in the Dutch language, or in any of the Teutonic idioms; they looked upon it as the name of some supposed navigator, to whom the discovery of Tasmania was ascribed.*

To retain the original orthography of names, and at the same time to explain their correct pronunciation, would not, I think, be too difficult a task for a careful observer. The same precaution (somewhat more troublesome it may be) is still more necessary in a translator who has to do with foreign names, which require translation from the original text into his own language. How, for instance, without very great care, should we be able to recognize the real name of the kingdom of Maïssour in the Mysore of English writers.

SECTION LVI.

NAMES PURPOSELY ALTERED IN ORDER TO ASSIMILATE THEM TO OTHER NAMES IN COMMON USE IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A DREAD of hearing his name disfigured is not the only inducement to change it, if a man be away from his own country; or, if though still a resident in it, he be obliged to submit to the magistrates of a foreign power.

Away from his native place, the stranger is looked upon

* To make the mistake more complete, it was positively asserted that this navigator was born at Arnheim, the town from which the ship the Zea-Haen sailed. In the same way, the name of Endraght was invented in order to make a birth-place for Hartog, who, sailing in 1616 in the vessel called Endraght (the Union), discovered the land to which he gave his ship's name. These two mistakes, which were detected by Mr. Eyriès, are alluded to by the President de Brosses in his account, entitled "Navigation aux terres Australes," vol. i., pp. 431, 432.

Reasons which would induce an intentional alteration in names.

with hatred, mistrust, or at least with a kind of dislike. When Hilaria left Gaul to be married in Germany, she adopted the German name Uda. Ducange is of opinion that this was in accordance with a generally established rule; nothing in a woman's name was suffered to remind her husband's fellow-countrymen of her foreign extraction. On the other hand, in a conquered country, an idea of power is attached to foreign names, and an idea of subjugation to all native appellations. An attempt would accordingly be made to modify them slightly without altering them to such a degree as to render them utterly unrecognizable by those who use them exclusively, and search would be made for the new names amongst the most powerful nations of the time. When the Jews were under the dominion of the Greek kings of Syria, the high-priest Joshua took the name of Jason among Greeks. Theudas became Theodorus, and Cleophas Cleophilus. The grandfather of Herod the Great had an Arab name, Antipas, and changed it into the Greek name Antipater. Six centuries later, a Samaritan, named Dosthen,* represented himself as the prophet whom Moses had promised to the Hebrews, and was called by his Greek disciples by a title which agreed with his pretensions, viz., Dositheus, gift of God.

Why did the apostle of the Gentiles take the name of Paul, instead of his former name Saul? Not, as some have thought,† that, because he was a citizen of Rome, he was obliged to take a Roman name. On the contrary, for, had he adopted a prænomen and a family name, he must also, in the regular course of things, have joined to these his national name, in the form of a surname. But, as he was called to

* Photii Bibliothec., cod. ccxxx. † Longuerana, vol. ii., p. 49.

carry the light of Gospel truth beyond the limits of Judæa, the apostle was anxious to present himself before his hearers under a name which should not be offensive to their usual habits.

Reasons which would induce an intentional alteration in names.

His example has been followed by others. Among the Goths, Bishop Jornandes took the name of Jordanus, and the English monk Austin became Augustine. The Irish Kelder Aonghus* published his chronicles in prose and in verse, under the name of Æneas Colideus. The Welsh name Gloyw† (brilliant, dazzling) has been translated by the Christian prænomen Claudius; Couchouard, Bishop of Ely, became St. Concors;‡ the monk Saens, St. Sidonius;§ the Welsh Cybar, St. Eparchius; the Spanish Galindo, St. Prudentius; and St. Ysoie, St. Eusebia.

Later again, analogous changes were introduced as a matter of policy. Livon, the name of several of the kings of Armenia Minor, was constantly changed into Leon during the period of intercourse between these princes and the Greeks. Josse, Margrave of Brandenburgh, who was elected emperor in 1413, is named Justus by the annalists, who wrote in Latin, and Ladislas, King of Hungary, when he was raised to the Neapolitan throne, was only known to the Italians by his Italian name Lancelotto.

* J. Toland, Nazarenus, Letter II. (London, 1718, 8vo, p. 52). With respect to the Culdees, or more properly the Keile-dees or Keldees, a religious community among the Scotch and Irish, see the same work, pp. 50-57. In many of his poems, Ossian addresses himself to one of these Keldees.

† Richards (Welsh-English Dictionary), under the word Gloyw.

‡ At Lémenc, near Chambéry, where he died in 1176. (Millin, Travels in Savoy, etc., vol. i., p. 53.)

§ At Saint Saens, in the department of the Seine-Inférieure. Memoirs of the Antiquarian Society of France, vol. iv., p. 128.

Names altered through a feeling of vanity.

The feeling of vanity which is always rife turned this custom to its own account, and suggested the idea that, inversely, modern names were merely names of an older date, somewhat modified. In Venice, the Miani called themselves Emiliani, and the Marcelli claimed descent from the celebrated Marcellus, the rival of Hannibal. The Cornari belonged in reality to the family of the Cornelii; the Justiniani gave it out publicly that they were descendants of the Emperor Justinian, although the two emperors of that name died without issue. Emilianus in Rome was an agnomen, and Marcellus a surname; neither the one nor the other was ever the characteristic name of a family. Justinian was an individual name which the emperors who bore it would not have transmitted to their children even if they had left any. The son of Justinian II., a child of six years' old, who was murdered before his father's death, was called Tiberius. The name Cornelius had belonged to thousands of obscure plebeians both in Rome and in the provinces. What were these doubtful genealogies worth, admitting that they were not positively false? Even if we adopt all the prejudices and all the illusory fancies of the nobles, where shall we find nobler names than those which came into vogue during the period of Venice's original independent state, and which, for thirteen centuries, were perpetuated through both republican and monarchic times.

The change which a difference of pronunciation of the same letter brings over names ministered to the vanity of the Goths, who, when they first appeared in Italy (as the Tartars did afterwards in China), were sufficiently far-sighted to appropriate to themselves the institutions of a people who were their inferiors in warlike matters, but their superiors in the in-

tellectual acquirements, which they had retained as an inheritance of bygone days. The Hebrews had formerly adopted Greek names, and the Greeks had taken Roman names, in order to assimilate themselves to their conquerors. The Goths, who were still impressed with an idea of the ancient glories of Greece and Rome, were glad to give names to the vanquished people which were not quite strange to them. In order to secure this, they took advantage of an orthography which they had adopted, and in which the letters EO represented a diphthong, which was pronounced I, or IE, or IEU. Dietrich or Thierry, Thiébaut or Thibaut, Thiédéhat, Thietbert, Thiédulf, appeared again in the form of Theodoric, Theobald, Theodat, Theodebert, Theodulphe, and seemed to be derived from the Greek word Θεος (God). The names Léonard, Léobald, Léopold, in which the word Leo or Lion is the great feature, represented in the same way the names Liébard, Liénard, Liébauld, and Lupold.

Names sometimes altered from motives of policy.

However, what we are now attributing to the policy or to the vanity of the Goths may possibly belong to the servile pride of the Latins, who felt less humiliation when they could approximate the names of their new masters to other names which were familiar amongst themselves. Thus, for the name of Amalia or Amelia, which reminded them of the founder of the new dynasty, they substituted the Roman name Æmilia. At a later period they went so far as to substitute the Greek name Charilaus for the Teutonic Carl, the meaning of which is quite different; and at last, fancying that they had discovered a Greek root in the Gothic name Theodoric, they interpreted it, in honour of some holy abbot, into "The man who contemplates the Deity."

SECTION LVII.

TRANSLATED NAMES, FREQUENTLY ALTERED BY FAULTY TRANSLATION.

Instances of faulty translation.

WHAT should we think of a Welshman who, arguing from the meaning of words in his own language, should translate the name Herod the Great into "messenger"* or "bearer of tidings," and should maintain that the Arabs were so named because of their light, frivolous, and facetious disposition?† And yet, among the Greeks, we allow such etymologies as the one to which I have alluded in the matter of Theodoric, and many others stranger still, until, by frequent repetition, we at last use them as the basis of our reasoning and systematizing.

The name of the town where Ovid expiated some (to us) unknown crime by a perpetual exile, reminds us of a Greek verb which signifies to cut; the name was Tomi. There it was, says the poet, that Medea cut‡ and mangled the limbs of her brother, and those bloody coasts were ever after called by a name which was intended to recall the murderous deed. Now, as Ovid maintains that Tomi was founded by a Milesian colony, his derivation might be allowed to pass but for his own admission that the name is much older than the town (vetus hinc nomen positâque antiquius urbe). Consequently, it must have been given by the Getæ. Now, the Getæ did not speak Greek, at least before the settlement of the Milesians. Rabaud St. Etienne§ compares the meaning of the name Ab-

* Herod, a messenger, or bringer of tidings. (Richards, Welsh-English Dictionary.)

† Arab, facetious, merry, trifling. (Richards, *ibid.*)

‡ Ovid, Trist., lib. iii., eleg. ix., v. 5-34.

§ Lettres sur l'Histoire primitive de la Grèce, pp. 415, 416.

syrtus in Greek, viz., "unsown," "torn to pieces," with the etymology given by Ovid, and he comes to the conclusion that the story of Absyrtus and Medea is merely a geographical allegory. Medea, according to his view, represents a country; Absyrtus, or rather Absarus, is a river which flowed on the south of the Phasis, and which "tore up its banks." But, according to this, Medea would be torn up by Absyrtus, and not Absyrtus by Medea. Moreover, Greek was not spoken in Colchis, except towards the mouths of the Danube; consequently, there were no Greek names there. It would be necessary, therefore, to prove that Tomi and Absyrtus are exact translations of the native names of the town and river; until that is done they cannot be connected with the legend whose origin they are intended to explain. Let us rather believe that names which, like these,* may be interpreted by a language to which they do not really belong, have come down to us disguised in a Greek form. The Greeks, from pride and love of euphony, were in the habit of altering foreign names, and of seeking afterwards to explain them by words taken from their own language. When we read in the works of George Syncellus that *Aristarchus* was the second successor of Misraim on the throne of Egypt, the mind at once jumps at a similar conclusion to the above; this, also, must be a name intentionally altered, and made to assume a Greek form. Not but that it might be the translation of a significant name; a king of Egypt may have been called the best of the great or of the excellent, but why should this be the only name translated in that long list of Egyptian names?

Alteration by faulty translation.

* The tragic poet Pacuvius gave Medea's brother the Greek name Ægialus or Ægialeus (fisherman or sea-coast). (Cicer., De Naturâ Deorum, lib. iii., ch. xix.)

Faulty translations.

A well-authenticated instance will add considerable weight to our conjectures. We know very well what fables the Greeks invented respecting the foundation of Carthage. At one time Dido had obtained from the Africans as much land as an ox-hide would cover; at another she had exchanged a cargo of ox-hides, with which her ships were laden, for a piece of land; again, it was said that she had paid for the land in coin made of hides, a coin which was sometimes current among the ancients; and all this because βύρσα in Greek means *hide*, and that is the name by which the Greeks knew the portion of the city of Carthage which was first founded. Henri Etienne* states that the Greeks said βύρσα instead of bosra, the pronunciation of that word being offensive to their ears. Now, the meaning of the latter word in Eastern languages is a stronghold, the highest and most fortified portion of the city; βύρσα, therefore, was, as Strabo and Appian remark, the acropolis or citadel of Carthage.†

We cannot, therefore, feel surprised if writers of a less enlightened age have made similar mistakes. If, for instance, the author wrongly named Archbishop Turpin, instead of recognizing in the name Ferragus a somewhat softened form of the Welsh Fergus, translates it Ferracutus,‡ in order that he may derive it from "sharp-cutting sword," "ferrum acutum." Roland or Rutland, a Teutonic name, means a warrior, the conqueror of a country;§ a writer, however, who has been an

* See the second note of Henri Etienne on Appian. De bell. punic., page 1.

† Appian, De bell. punic., pp. 1 and 79. (Edition of Henri Etienne.)

‡ J. Turpini, Histor. de vit. Carol. mag. et Rolandi.

§ Rott or Roth, in old German; ruta, rutta, in low Latin, a "troop of soldiers," of robbers, of plunderers. Ruteling, Rutellus, a kind of weapon. See also in Ducange's Glossary, Roth-Magister, Ruta, Rutarii,

authority, as it were, for all the romance writers of the tenth century, derives this name from the Italian Rotolando (rolling); because, says he, the knight-errant in question, who was born at the extreme end of a grotto, rolled himself, without help, to its entrance. Effects of translation in names.

Even more accurate translations are not wholly unobjectionable. There is a risk that historical characters may be doubled in number if by any mistake the original name should be retained as well as the translated one. Authors during the period of the Lower Empire were guilty of this error when they spoke of the Sclavonic kings and chieftains whose names they usually translated.* The Armenian name Abgarus (Avagair, venerable man), accurately translated into Izates or Izetes in Arabic and in other Eastern languages, has caused much confusion in the history of the princes of Edessa, because both have been sought for individually, viz., Izates and Abgarus.† And yet it is only natural that the real meaning of significant names should be given by translation. One of the advantages of such a system is, that foreign and discordant sounds are not introduced into the text. The man who writes or speaks in any other language than his own may have recourse to the same expedient, in order that he may not appear under what would be deemed a barbarian name. The Sclaves who wrote in Latin did this. The Polish prelate

etc. Rut is the root of many names of places; Rutsée, a small lake near Lucerne; the field of Rutli, where the three liberators of Switzerland swore to deliver their country from tyranny.

* Ducange, De familiis Dalmat., p. 220, and Appendi. Notizie Istorico-critiche sulla republica di Ragusa (2 vols. 4to; Ragusa, 1802, 1803), vol. i., p. 79.

† J. M. Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches curieuses sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Asie, pp. 134-138.

Instances of translated names.

D'lugloss called himself Longinus in his works. The Albanian compiler of an Albano-Latin* dictionary styles himself (at the foot of the author's dedication) Blancus or White, and, in an epistle addressed to his fellow-countrymen, retains his national name, of which the former is only a translation.

In this respect, perhaps, the above-mentioned writers merely conformed to an old-established custom; or again, it may have been that their fellow-countrymen wished to retain the meaning of their significant names, even in a foreign language. This suggestion, which would very materially exonerate the Greek historians from blame in the matter of translating Sclavonic names, is a very plausible one. It becomes all the more so when we remember the difficulty of translating a foreign name into the Greek and Latin idioms, where every case in a declension alters the word according to certain well-defined rules. Rather than have one's name so utterly disfigured by such a system, people must have felt anxious to translate their names themselves. Such was the system which was adopted by most of the foreigners who during the times of the Empire had become Roman citizens. I venture to offer this conjecture in consequence of there being five Gauls named Julius; their surnames, Vindex, Sacrovir, Civilis, Tutor, and Classicus, mean in Latin, avenger, holy man, man of the people, defender or protector, and the clarion of war;† this can only be a fortunate coincidence; I see in these surnames the exact translation of national names which

* Dictionarium latino-epiroticum, etc. (Romæ, 12mo, 1635.) The Albanian name of the writer was Ilarththe (white). The th is expressed by a consonant which is peculiar to the Albanian idiom.

† Classicus-Varro, De ling. latin., lib. iv., c. xvi. Classicus may also mean marine, or soldier, or a war-ship.

men who sought to restore their country's independence were loth to abandon.

It is sometimes insinuated that the Romans had a malicious motive in translating names.

The precaution in question would have become indispensable, if, as Poinsinet de Sivry* insinuates, the Romans had added the malicious intention of making names ridiculous to a desire of latinizing them by altering their meaning and their form. Founding his argument on this idea, Poinsinet goes on to trace more than one modern name under the disguise of more ancient names which Roman writers had perpetuated. We shall not follow him through all the intricacies and more than rash interpretations into which he is compulsorily driven. It will be sufficient for us to remark that the names of this kind which we have succeeded in recognizing are in no way disfigured; in the cognomen of L. Junius *Paciecus*,† a Spaniard who had become a Roman citizen, it is easy to trace the national name Pacieco, or Pachecho; the real name of German Segimundus‡ was no doubt Sigismund; Leonorius, who according to Strabo led the Gauls into Galatia, answered to the name of Leonor, Eleonor or Alienor, names which were common to both sexes, although they are now given more frequently to women than to men.§ If we compare the Gallic names mentioned by Cæsar and by Tacitus with those which we read in well-authenticated inscriptions,‖ the forms of both will prove to be identically the same. It

* Poinsinet de Sivry, Origine des premières sociétés, 8vo, Paris, 1770, page 467 and following pages, but more especially page 472.

† A. Hirtius, De bell. Hispan., cap. i.; Cicer. Epist. famil., lib. vi., c. 18; Valer. Maxim., lib. v., cap. iv.

‡ Tacit. Annal., lib i., c. lvii.

§ M. de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris in 1782, was christened by the name of Eléonor.

‖ See Gruter, Corpus inscript. passim, p. DCCCXV., inscript. 10.

cannot be imagined that when our ancestors had a name inscribed upon a monument they would have allowed it to be mutilated in any material or offensive way.

Why in the middle ages all names were translated into Latin.

During the middle ages the Latin language was the language of literature and politics; accordingly in history and in the public records proper names had to assume a Latin form. The change was not always a happy one; the Sclavonic name Sventopolk, is merely changed into Sfentopulcher in a letter from Pope John VIII., while the Doge Obelerio is called Wilharius by a contemporary annalist.*

The evil increased about the time of the restoration of letters, on account of the attempt made to reproduce the style and form of the language of ancient Rome. Justus Lipsius complains that in the history of Louis the Eleventh he finds the name of Chartier, Bishop of Paris, transformed into Quadrigarius by Paulus Æmylius.† The feeling of pride which sought to trace so many genealogies up to ancient Rome, must have sadly multiplied the translations, or rather (if we may so term them), the Latin *decompositions* of modern names. In Venice the family of Da-mula exchanged their own name for that of Amulius, the great uncle of Romulus, and the brother of Numitor.‡

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, our language, in the opinion of the learned and accurate thinker De Thou, had not attained a sufficient degree of perfection to become

* Adhelm.—It is generally supposed that he was in Charlemagne's service in the capacity of priest or chaplain. See the French translation of the work entitled Squitinio della liberta Veneta (printed at the conclusion of his History of the Government of Venice), p. 66.

† Justi Lipsii Politicorum, lib. vi. etc. (12mo, Verona, 1601), p. 458. Pauli Æmylii, De rebus gestis Francorum, lib. x. passim.

‡ Freschot, Nouvelle relation, etc., 3d part, p. 134.

the interpreter of history; he wrote in Latin and tried to translate the names of his contemporaries into that language. His readers, however, would have to pause at each name, were it not for copious notes at the foot of every page, which save them the trouble of guessing at his meaning.

The history of France still written in Latin in the seventeenth century, all names consequently recorded in Latin.

For instance, Domus Luscinia; what do these words mean?—words which became eventually famous on account of the flattering omens which an anagram attached to them, and which the eighteenth century saw realized. It is impossible to guess, and the names cannot be understood until I point out the man who was placed on the throne by the suffrages of a conqueror, driven from it by misfortune, invited for political reasons to rule over another state, and who, by contributing to the happiness of his new subjects, proved that he had always been worthy of the crown, I mean, Stanislas Leszynski?*

Authors were obliged to change their own names as well as the names of the persons they celebrated either in prose or in verse. In the sixteenth century the Germans used to translate them into Greek; Reuchlin (smoke) was called Capnio; Grosman (great man), Megander; Schwartserdt (black earth), Melanchthon, etc.† An enumeration of the writers who have adopted a similar plan in order to publish their somewhat dangerous works with impunity, falls rather within the province of the philologist who devotes his attention specially to anonymous publications. It may be observed, however, by the way, that the veil was sometimes made twofold, in

* Ades incolumis—omnis es lucida—mane sidus loci—sis columna dei—I scande solium (Encyclopédie méthod. Grammaire et littérature, art. Anagramme).

† On this subject see the Magasin Encyclopédique, year 1814, vol. iii., pp. 370-379.

order more successfully to deceive the enemies of freedom of thought; the theological principles of Philip Melanchthon, translated into Italian and published under the name of Ippofilo da Terra Negra, escaped for a considerable time the rigid inquiries of the Catholic authorities.

Authors, however, generally remained content with giving a Latin form and appearance to their names. Those who most frequently adopted the system did not always escape the obscurity which was almost inseparable from this kind of alteration, so that in Grucchius it is hardly less difficult to discover Grouchy* than Vanderbeken in Torrentius.†

The annoyance caused by the obscurity thus created may have given rise to the derisive expression, "a wise man whose name ends in *us*." If the absurdity which it entailed hastened the disappearance of the custom, we can only congratulate ourselves; so uniform and unreal a termination seemed to make of authors a distinct people, isolated even from their own native country. How many French people there are who, having been misled by such a system, look upon several learned writers as foreigners, whereas they really hold rank amongst the most famous lawyers and physicians whose works have been an honour to France.

* Grucchius, De comitiis Romanorum, lib. iii. (folio). For Nicholas Grouchy, see De Thou, Hist., lib. liv., ad finem.

† Noël—"Dictionnaire historique et étymologique des noms propres," under the word Torrentius.

SECTION LVIII.

NAMES OF ILLUSTRIOUS PEOPLE ADOPTED BY THEIR SUCCESSORS.

Illustrious names adopted by the successors of their real owners.

I must now draw the attention of my readers to a change, or as it might most justly be termed, to a system of usurpation in names which, though utterly inconsistent with our habits, occurred frequently in olden times.

If in our days a prince be called Titus, a poet Virgil, or an orator Demosthenes, surnames are given to them which are as full of meaning as they are honourable in character, but neither the prince nor the man of letters would dream of appropriating such names with the avowed intention of never bearing any other;* they would never expect to be some day mistaken for the poet that sang of Dido, or for the orator so dreaded of Philip, or for the emperor who was the "delight of the human race."

Eighteen centuries ago, the adoption of an already famous name was a matter of greater importance than it is now. Octavius was most anxious to be called Romulus,† and only abandoned the idea through fear of too openly betraying his desire to reign. He had no idea that such a name would identify him with the son of Rhea Sylvia, but what he wished was to establish a sort of connection between the foundation

* On the title page of his works, Mr. John Wolcott used to assume the name of Pindar (Peter Pindar); this slight affectation has only been looked upon as an intentional joke. While doing justice to the talents of the poet laureate, the English did not proclaim him to be the heir of the Theban lyric poet, they would rather have looked upon him as a formidable disciple of Archilochus and Hipponax.

† "Cæsar valdè cupiebat se ROMULUM appellari," etc. (Dio. Cass. Xiphilin. in August.)

Remark upon this usurpation of illustrious names.

of the city and the foundation of the empire; his aim was to draw down upon himself some of that religious veneration which was felt for the name of the first king of Rome, and to make preparations for the time when the new Romulus would cause the older one to be forgotten.

In bygone ages, when oral traditions were the only sources of a nation's historic knowledge, as traditions accumulated so they naturally became more obscure and more confused; thus what Octavius could not have succeeded in effecting till after a long lapse of time, was readily achieved then. A similarity of names, which so easily caused confusion, could be pressed into the service of ambition, of pride, or of religion, and soon gave rise to inexplicable uncertainties in history.

The paradoxical Vico asserts that Homer never lived. According to his view, the name of *the* great poet was only intended among the Greeks to designate the genius of their national epic.* The evidence brought forward in support of this assertion, only tends to make it likely that several imitators of the father of Greek Poetry were surnamed Homer, after their great model, and that they thereby endeavoured to secure an earnest of enduring fame, at least on the title of their works. The obstacles which the permanency of names amongst ourselves would throw in the way of such pseudonyms did not exist for them; the name of Homer had belonged to

* Vico, Principi di scienza nuova di Giambatista Vico (3 vols. 8vo, Milano, 1816), lib. iii., pp. 1-40. P. A. Girardet (Nouveau système sur la mythologie, 4to, Dijon, 1788, pp. 291-294) is another who thinks that Homer may only have been an imaginary character. According to his view, the sacred and allegorical songs, which were carefully kept in the Eastern temples, and were carried into Greece with civilization by the Phœnician and Egyptian colonies, were called *Word-Recitals;* Homeroz in Hebrew, Homerath in Assyrian; from the name of the poems, he thinks the author's name was coined.

many members of different families.* We are not surprised, then, to find that from eighteen to forty poems are attributed to Homer. Instances of similarity in names.

The name Bacis used to recall to Grecian ears the oracles of three soothsayers, in whom the people placed unlimited confidence. May we not justly infer that the success of the first led two others to court the credulity of the public, by the adoption of a name which seemed to command it. I account for the frequent repetition of the name Orpheus in the same way, and for the plurality of individuals who bore the name and were recognized by history. I view them all as the priests of one and the same form of worship, who having come from the remotest regions of Asia into Thrace, at various times, made themselves known to the barbarian hordes by a name which the first who bore it had made sacred; the identity of aim, doctrine, and means of persuasion, soon led to a belief in the identity of person. Independently of astronomical phenomena, and of all the many religious or political interests which must have greatly multiplied the name of Hercules, mythologists are of opinion that several individuals who had gained fame for their wonderful feats, had either taken or received the name, and either persuaded the ignorant or suffered them to believe that the man-succouring demi-god was living again in them.

Even as early as the days of Pliny and Cicero, as early as the time when Plato lived, the question arose when Zoroaster lived, the founder of the religious system which the Parsees, who are scattered all over Hindustan, still retain most scrupulously, in spite of the bitter persecutions they have had to undergo. Zoroaster.

* Old writers tell us of eight or nine Homers, besides the writer of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

How does the question arise at all? From a similarity in names, and its influence extends even to the fellow-countrymen of the prophet. The Persians in the time of Agathias * had not decided whether Gystasp, in whose reign Zoroaster lived, was not the same as Hystaspes, the father of Darius; since that time the two have been mistaken for each other, and yet the proselyte of Zoroaster was a king, whereas the father of Darius was a private individual. It may be objected here that the Pamphylian Her, son of Armenus, was, according to St. Clement,† the same as Zoroaster, and some historians mention an Armenus as contemporary with Cyrus.‡ How does this affect the question, if the name Armenus, in the form either of a significant name, or of a surname derived from place of birth, may have belonged to a thousand different people?

It is my opinion that a great number of Zoroasters followed each other in regular succession, and became the objects of special veneration, in consequence of the reverence in which the first of the name had been held, and who must have lived at some very remote period. Without entering into any discussion respecting his antiquity,§ we may rest satisfied with one observation only, which belongs strictly to our subject; the alteration of a proper name may be owing to the distance of place, but it is more especially owing to distance of time. No name has gone through so many and such extraordinary changes as the name of Zoroaster,‖ in the countries situated

* Agathias, Hist. Just., lib. ii., c. xi.

† St. Clement, Alex. Stromat., lib. v.

‡ Bayle's Dictionary. See article Zoroaster, note B.

§ See at the end of this work, note B, respecting the time at which the founder of the religion of the Magi lived, and also respecting the place of his birth.

‖ In Zend, Zerethoschtrô; in Pehlvi, Zeratêscht and Zertoscht; in Parsee, Zerdust (Anquetil, life of Zoroaster, sec. 1, in the Zend-Avesta,

nearest to his own native land, and even upon the very scene of his successes. In its passage from the Zend to the Pehlví language it was somewhat disfigured, and Pehlví has long been obsolete! Before it reached us, it had been uttered by many a tongue, had passed through many an idiom, and had existed for many a century.

The name Zoroaster examined.

Men of great learning have thought that the name Zoroaster, which was successively given to several individuals, originally meant "*the Philosopher*," like the name Buddha. Whatever may have been its original meaning, and Anquetil* gives us none but very wide conjectures, the name when used in the East always reminded the person who heard it of some extraordinary man who had either founded or restored the religious system of the fire-worshippers, or of some profound astronomer, or of some philosopher divinely initiated into all the deep mysteries of the occult sciences. The author who has abridged the works of Berosus† says that Ham was called Zoroaster because he practised the magic arts. In the west, the idea of the discovery of magic as a science was almost inseparable from the name, for according to the sacred traditions of the Parsees, Zoroaster was only sent upon earth to

vol. i., 2d part, p. 2); in Greek, Zaratas, Zaradas, Zathraustes, Zarasdes, Zabratos, Zoroastres, etc.; in Armenian, Zerovan (Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches curieuses, etc., pp. 252-256-260); Zasrades, in the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, apud Photium, Biblioth., cod. lxxxi.; Zaravastes in Cephalion, quoted by Eusebius, Chronic, lib. i., c. xv.

* Life of Zoroaster, sec. 1, pp. 2-5.

† Berosi Babyl. Antiquit., lib. iii. Surprise may be excited by the quotation here of a work which is generally supposed to be apocryphal. But has the selection published by Annius of Viterbo been judged as it deserves to be? Can we not recognise in it, I will not say fragments of Berosus, Manetho, and Metasthenes, but extracts from those ancient writers, and extracts worthy of attention? I have endeavoured to answer the question. See Note A, in the Appendix.

deliver men from the yoke of the Magi;* but it shews, at the same time, what were the notions of the people with regard to the power supposed to be inherent in the Magi, through their knowledge of the mysteries of nature.

Whoever excelled in the knowledge of these arts, whoever contributed to the spread or restoration of the worship of fire, would most probably receive the name Zoroaster from an admiring people.

One of the Magi, the one who supported the cause of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, assumed the name from motives of policy; when the prince was firmly seated on his throne, and began to perceive that the vengeance which had been taken in return for the usurpation of Smerdis had gone too far, and that the massacre and degradation of the priestly race had left the people without a religion, and despotism without a resting point, it became a matter of importance that the priests and their religion should be restored to the respect and reverence of the people.

That was the last of the Zoroasters. Not that the credulity of the people had grown less; not that impolitic jealousies had caused dissensions amongst the Magi themselves; but from that time nothing occurred to necessitate the restoration of that peculiar form of worship, consequently nothing required the appearance of another Zoroaster. The conquests of Alexander, the occupation of the throne by the Arsacidæ and the Sassanian dynasty, were political revolutions, and were wholly unconnected with the religion of the people. However, the practice which had led to the creation of a succession of Zoroasters did not cease to prevail; one of the magi, Ostanes, a contemporary of Xerxes, had grown famous

* Zend-Avesta—Life of Zoroaster, sec. iv., p. 10.

in the art of teaching magic; another, one of Alexander's courtiers, wishing to reach fame by the same path, also took the name of Ostanes.

If our hypothesis be adopted, most of the difficulties will be removed which have been raised by so many various and contradictory explanations with regard to the time when Zoroaster lived. The interval between the reign of Darius and that of Semiramis or Ninus is sufficiently long to allow of the existence of five or six persons of the name during that period. We may go back even farther than that, if, as it is stated by Gregory of Tours and the writer of the "Recognitions" (which were attributed to St. Clement), the first son of Zoroaster was the grandson of Noah; but he was his son, the same as Ham, according to Genebrard and the abridger of Berosus' works, who in this respect both agree with the historians of Armenia. Zerovan or Zoroaster, say these, was one of the sons of the patriarch Xissuthros, who is supposed by them to be the same as Noah. When did Zoroaster live?

It was an easy matter for a number of ambitious priests to glorify themselves with the name of Zoroaster; it must frequently have been assumed by the Magi, especially by those of the first class, who, in the districts of Iran and Armenia, boasted of their direct lineal descent from the prophet.

Eastern writers, on whose authority Genebrard rests his statements, assign a miraculous length of life to Ham-Zoroaster; born before the deluge, he died in battle, conquered by Ninus.

The apparent absurdity is easily explained when we remember that the successors of Zoroaster were long known by the name of their master.

The permanent repetition of the name implied the unchangeableness of the doctrine taught by the bearers of the name.

To produce such a result nothing more was needed than a wish to publish abroad the unity and unchangeableness of their doctrines by the permanency of the name. The patriarch of the Jacobites is always called Peter, and that of the Maronites Ignatius; each perpetuates the name of the saint he is supposed to have succeeded in the patriarchal chair at Antioch. In earlier days, if the disciples of the old philosophers did not absolutely take the names of their masters, they frequently attributed to them their opinions and their works. The early schools of philosophy had borrowed this custom, like many others, from the priestly schools from which they had originally sprung. In like manner, the Magi may, for a long period, have taught under the name of their founder, and when historians assert that Pythagoras was instructed by Zoroaster, they state the same fact; it was always the prophet of the pure law who, by the mouth of his successors, spoke, taught, and guided his proselytes in the paths of goodness and of truth. An idea which prevailed widely in the East, and of which we can find traces in the books of the Bible, favoured, if I may so term it, "*the metempsychosis of names.*" In all parts it was believed by the ignorant, that a favourite of heaven would reappear many years after he had left this transitory world in order to give fresh light and aid to the suffering human race. There are instances without number in Hindustan of Avatars, or rather returns of a deity, or of a genius, or of a penitent, who through some extraordinary manifestations of piety, had become the equal of the gods. A popular belief like this was naturally retained, together with what the religion of the Magi retained of the Brahmin creed.

The same belief, only wider in its application, and based upon a divine revelation, which I look upon as its original

source, gave rise to the idea of immortality which the chief priests of Lamaism claim for themselves, from the Dalaï-lama down to the religious chief of some small Tartar horde. The individual change is only apparent; the same divinity is ever undergoing a re-incarnation in the persons of the pontiffs who succeed each other. The divinity is unchangeable; the law is unchangeable; the authority and the respect enjoyed by the priests are unchangeable: it is the perfection of a non-progressive civilization.

SECTION LIX.

NAMES OF PRINCES PERPETUATED IN THEIR RESPECTIVE DYNASTIES; THEY BECOME TRUE HEREDITARY TITLES.

THE tiara and the crown have sometimes been worn by the same head; when they were not so, state policy inspired the reigning monarch with a desire to rival the pontiffs even in their immortality.

After he has celebrated the birth of Kioro, or the divine child, in whom he recognizes the root of the Manchow dynasty, the Emperor-poet Khian Lung describes* the child as animating all his descendants by his spirit, and as one really acting in the person of most of them. This is a true metempsychosis, almost as clearly stated as that of the priest of Buddha, and which cannot have been less acceptable to the credulity of the Tartars.

In very remote ages of the past, it was no doubt in order to produce the idea of a similar metempsychosis that the kings of various countries used to transmit the same name one to

* Eulogy of Moukden (8vo, Paris, 1770), preface of the translator, p. v., and pp. 13-17, p. 47, etc.

Instances of the perpetuation of sovereigns' names.

another; ten of the ancestors of King Feridoun (who was himself an ancestor of Zoroaster in the twenty-fifth generation) were named Athvian.* Hadad was the name of all the kings of Damascus from the time of David downwards;† and Syennesis is that of almost all the satraps of Cilicia,‡ who had no doubt borrowed the name from the ancient kings of that country. Most of the kings or toparchs of Edessa who succeeded Abgarus the First, chose to assume the same name.§ Bruce suggests, and he is probably right, that all the queens of Nubia were called Candace.‖ Among the Falashas, who are a Jewish tribe in the midst of christianized Abyssinia, and have retained the religion of their fathers and a species of independence, the king's name was almost always Gideon, and the queen's Judith.¶ The Leons succeeded each other to the number of five on the unstable throne of Armenia Minor. The Christian princes of Mœsia took the name of Theodore so generally (translated Bogdan in the Sclavonic dialect) that the latter has become the name of the principality** among the Turks. The kings of Crimea were always called Gheraï. All the princes of Mingrelia bore the name Dadyan, which is somewhat similar to the name of the first Persian dynasty.††

* Boun-dehesch, sec. xxii.; Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 417.

† Nicolas Damasc., Hist., lib. iv.; apud Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. vii., c. vi.

‡ Herodot., lib. i., c. lxxiv.; lib. v., c. cxviii.; lib. vii., c. xcviii.; Ctesias in Persic., c. lviii.; Xenophon, Cyri Exped., lib. i.

§ Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches curieuses, etc., p. 146.

‖ Bruce, Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, 8vo, vol. ii., p. 374.

¶ *Ibid.*, pp. 391, 392.

** D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, article Bogdan.

†† Dadyan. Just. Head of justice. Pich-Dadyan; the first among the fair and equitable. (Voyages of Chardin, 10 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1811, vol. i., p. 332.

In Europe, from early days to our own times, the custom of handing down a name from father to son has frequently prevailed amongst royal personages, the name being simply distinguished from its predecessor by a numeral adjective. Customary transmission of royal titles.

Princes whose limited power only placed them in the second or third rank were sometimes more scrupulously careful in these respects than the kings themselves. Guy IV., Count of Laval, obtained as a favour from Pope Pascal II. and King Philip I., that all his descendants should be named Guy, and Guy VII. made it so binding a condition upon the eldest of the family, that had he failed to take the name, the property would have reverted to the younger son. All the counts of Reuss, that branch of them at least who had settled in Berlin, handed down the name of Henry in regular succession; Henry XLVIII. was living during the latter part of the eighteenth century.*

What was the theory of this continuous identity of names? It was intended, I think, to denote, that notwithstanding the apparent change in the person of their princes, the sceptre was always wielded by the same hand, and always guided by the same spirit. Now, in order to instil this idea of fixedness and unchanging rule into the minds of their subjects, and thereby to secure an additional guarantee for the lastingness of their power, and greater facilities for its extension, modern princes could not resort either to the expedient furnished by the apparent immortality of pontiff kings, or to the metempsychosis of which the sceptred poet of Moukden

* Reminiscences of a twenty years' residence at Berlin, by D. Thiébault (5 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1805), vol. iii., p. 84. At the commencement of each fresh century they go back to the ordinal unit; the first male child born since 1800 would be called Henry I., the second Henry II., and so on.

sings; they were obliged to make the influence of their name, and the custom which identifies it with the individual, practical, and hence their expectations have not always been deceived.

There is a disadvantage connected with the continued use of a name through a long series of generations, which we cannot well realize without carrying ourselves back in imagination some thirty or forty centuries. Should the absence of any remarkable event, or the loss of historic documents, have shorn the reigns of several successive princes of any glorious reminiscences, if all bore the same name, that name and its date is all that dwells in the memory. By degrees the dates are mixed up together, and at last it comes to this, that the only dates cited are those when the first prince ascended the throne and when the last died, or, in other words, five or six individuals are joined into one. Then we must either attribute to him a supernaturally long life, or abandon altogether the periods fixed by tradition; so that, whenever these prodigiously long reigns occur, we have to alter the regularly admitted system of chronology to suit the case, and quietly drop out of our calculations a century, if not more. The first expedient was the one adopted by the ancients; the second was the more reasonable plan, according to the moderns; probability has been the gainer at the sacrifice of truth.

It may be for this reason, *i. e.*, to avoid such confusion, or it may be on account of some religious notion, that in Armenia the king never used to bear the same name as his father. The learned writer who states the fact, and grounds his statement on the unvarying testimony of the Armenian annals, comes to the conclusion that we must correct the accounts of some of the Greek and Latin authors, who virtu-

ally contradict the principle, and who speak, for instance, of a Tigranes the Great, the son and successor of another Tigranes.*

Without attempting to decide the question, without even stopping to consider this new proof of the importance of a careful study of proper names in their relation to historical criticism, we may at least remark, with reference to the instance just cited, that another learned writer looks upon the word Tigranes, not so much in the light of a proper name, as of a title which was adopted by all the Armenian sovereigns, so frequently do they seem to have borne it. In point of fact, a name which has become hereditary in any dynasty resembles a title, or even becomes one; the names of Cæsar and Augustus during the Roman empire were nothing else. The name Flavius underwent the same change as soon as Constantine had introduced it into the genealogy of his father. The emperors, whatever family they had belonged to, used it at the head of their Latin proclamations; and in order to prove himself their equal, Antharis, king of the Lombards, took the name of Flavius, and transmitted the title to his descendants.‡

Royal hereditary names become titles.

SECTION LX.

CONFUSION OF TITLES AND PROPER NAMES.

ORIGINALLY titles were not words without meaning, and the same meaning might belong to a name or to a significant

* Chahan de Cirbied, Recherches curieuses, etc., pp. 93, 94.

† The President De Brosses—History of the Roman Republic by Sallust (3 vols. 4to, Dijon, 1777), vol. ii., p. 472.

‡ Eryc. Puteau. Histor. insubr. (12mo, Loranii, 1614), p. 43.

Various instances of hereditary titles which were significant.

surname; it would be an easy matter, therefore, to mistake the one for the other. "*Divider of Bread*" was a title given to the Saxon chiefs, who all prided themselves in doing the honours of their hospitable tables to their vassals and to strangers.* Frangipani, a name common to two families, one Italian, the other Hungarian, is only the translation of the same title, which was probably introduced by some Saxon chief into countries where it was unknown.†

Ever since the close of the fifteenth century the emperors of Marocco and their children, no matter to what dynasty they belonged, have all had their individual name preceded by the title Mouley, which (as we know) signifies master or lord. But in older times, and in countries less known to us, it is seldom possible to get at the exact value of words, and consequently to distinguish titles from proper names. The title Inca, which in Peru is given to every child whose mother is a member of the Imperial family, may originally have been a proper name. There is a French writer who goes so far as to say that Creon and Pelasgus, in the heroic days, were mere *titles* which belonged to the kings of Corinth, Thebes and Argos, and have been incorrectly taken for *names* by writers of a subsequent age. I look upon Pharaoh as a proper name; it was a *title*, says the writer of the abridgment of Manetho's works;‡ according to Lydus,§ the same name,

Pharaoh.

* Ivanhoe, a romance, by the author of Waverley (London, 3 vols. 12mo, 1820), vol. i., ch. iii.

† See the Dictionary of Moreri, arts. Frangipani and Frankpani, two rather questionable anecdotes as to the origin of the name.

‡ "Pharaones, *pro dignitate dicebantur*." Manetho, De reg. Ægypt. See Annius of Viterbo.

§ Ægyptii—a primo Pharaone reges suos Pharaones, itemque Ptolemæos a primo dixere. J. Lyd., De magistrat. reip. rom., lib. i., c. iv.

like that of Ptolemy, was changed into an hereditary title for all the kings of a dynasty whose founder had been the first to bear the name.

After asserting that Ham-Zoroaster, the son of Zoroaster, was surnamed Chemesenuus, the writer of Berosus' works abridged, prolongs the duration of his life to the close of the reign of Ninias.* From his own statements we may infer that Chemesenuus means "propagator of fire." What could be a more appropriate title for the founder of the worship of Ormuzd-Sun, and for the prophet who went about consecrating Atesch-Gâh† and fire-vessels kindled with celestial fire. It was only right that Zoroaster should bear the title, and that he should transmit it to his successors in the priestly office, more especially to those who sought to propagate his doctrines and to make them known beyond the confines of the empire. This is all the more credible, inasmuch as at the present day "he that increases the fire‡" is the title given to a priest who takes part in the religious ceremonies of the Parsees. If Berosus, like Ctesias, has mentioned historic characters more frequently by their titles or their surnames than by their proper names, he could not have chosen a more forcible expression than that of fire-propagator, nor one more peculiarly appropriate to each of those who joined in the effort to propagate the worship of fire. The writer of the above-named abridgment may have seen nothing in the title but a proper name, and may have gone on repeating it, without caring to Zoroaster.

* See hereafter. Note A, sec. 5.

† Atesch-Gâh. Sanctuaries or temples of fire; so explained in the Zend-Avesta.—(*Tr.'s note.*)

‡ In Zend, Atere vethschô. In Pehlví, Atesch vaschenidar, he who augments fire; it was the surname of Raspi, one of the priests of their religion.

notice that he was ascribing to the same individual an existence of many centuries' duration.

Causes of confusion.

If titles and proper names may be so easily mistaken the one for the other, even in cases like the one we have instanced, which is so precise and so peculiarly appropriate, what confusion must arise in all those pompous names which only express power and high position in the vaguest of terms; of this kind are the component parts of many of the names of the Assyrian kings; as, for instance, Assur, Assar, Ad, Adon, etc., which may belong with equal propriety to both titles and names of kings. Ctesias calls the brother of Cambyses Tanyoxarces; he is better known to us by the name of Smerdis; and Scytharces is the name he gives to the king of the Scythians, who is called Indathyrsus by Herodotus.

The last instance proves plainly that Ctesias, as I have already said, frequently substituted titles for proper names. The custom of the time in which he lived was his authority for doing so, but evidently such a system might possibly double the number of historic characters, and make it appear that two equally truthful writers had contradicted each other.

Frequency of such confusion.

This confounding a title with a name is an error which is constantly occurring in history. The Romans and the Greeks gave the name Brennus to the military chief who, at the head of the Gauls, sacked Rome, and also to the one who twenty-two years later made an attempt to seize the temple of Delphi. Brennus merely signifies chief or king. One of the Byzantine historians* mentions Sidi and Melch as the son and grandson of the first king of Egypt; the words mean literally "the lord" and "the king." When we read that the queen of a

* Joel. Chronograph. compend., p. 152.

Scythian tribe was called Zarina,* it would be difficult to forget that the title of Czar is common to all the chiefs of the Sclavonic hordes.

Many writers have given the name Calanus† to the Indian philosopher who, in the presence of Alexander, lay down voluntarily on the burning pile; his real name was Sphines.‡ The Greeks say Plutarch had called him Calanus, because he used to greet them in his own language with the word Cale. But did not the other gymnosophists express themselves in the same way. The Indian wise men were all called Calani;§ the Greeks, therefore, were merely addressing Sphines by the honourable title which was due to his profession. We are not obliged to reject the etymology suggested by Plutarch; there may have been some connection between the title and the form of salutation if the word *cale* were meant to convey good wishes for the wisdom and happiness of the person greeted. Calanus.

After his victory over the Mallians, Alexander reduced Oxycan and Musican to subjection. The learned writer of the voyage of Nearchus‖ has not failed to notice that these were not two proper names, but the titles of the chiefs or governors of two districts which bordered on the Indus; he explains them, however, in a way which is not wholly free from objection. The termination, which is common to the two names as well as to a third, viz., Assacan (Asa-Khan), chief of the

* Diod. Sic., lib. ii., c. xxii.

† Ælian—Var. hist., lib. v., c. vi. Arrian—De exped. Alex., lib. vii., c. ix. Cicer. Tuscul. II., xxii.

‡ Plutarch in Alexandr., sec. 86.

§ Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, states it in his book on "Sleep," quoted by Josephus, Contr. Apion., lib. i., c. xxii.

‖ William Vincent—Voyage of Nearchus, etc. French translation, 4to, Paris, in the year viii., pp. 144-146.

The termination *can* or *khan*.

Assacani,* a tribe who were also compelled to submit to Alexander, furnishes us with a much simpler derivation; it is the distinguishing title of the Tartar chiefs. Dr. Vincent remarks that he is quite willing to accept this etymology, provided it can be proved by history that the Tartar hordes had at that time made their way into India. This is like asking for an impossibility, for we have no historic records of that country prior to the expedition of Alexander! In default of written documents there is a circumstance which the natural course of things supplies us with in support of our conjecture; it was the constant habit of those wandering tribes to start from the remotest parts of Northern Asia, to cross enormous distances, then suddenly to pour down their forces and enrich themselves by the plundering of more fortunately situated countries; at last they succeeded in establishing themselves there securely; and who can pretend to say with any certainty when their invasions commenced?

The older French historians, and after them Mézeray, mention Cagan or Cachan and Jugour,† princes of the Huns and the Avari. Jugour naturally suggests Oighour, the name of the mother tribe from which many of these tribes had proceeded. Kha-Khan is a title which signifies chief-of-chiefs, king of kings; it is still borne by the king of Persia; Feth-Ali-Schah designates himself by the same title in his poetical works.‡

It will be sufficient merely to allude to the mistake which

* Arrian—De exped. Alexandr., lib. iv., c. ix. and x.

† Aimoin—De gestis Francor., lib. iv., c. v. et c. lxxiv. Mézeray—Abrégé Chronologique, année 782.

‡ Reference may be made to the translation of four Odes, by Feth-Ali-Schah, at the conclusion of a work entitled "Description du Pachalik de Bagdad" (8vo, Paris, 1809), pp. 213, 218.

was made in viewing the name Surena as that of a man, whereas it was the title of the general-in-chief of the Parthian troops. I may also mention, by the way, the error committed by other authors, who tell us that in 1585 a great soldier, named Taico-Sama, deprived the Daïri, or Emperor Pontiff of Japan, of civil and political authority; Taïscho-Sama is a title, meaning literally the lord or general-in-chief.

Mistakes made by historians and travellers.

Adil-Gherai, prince or Chamkhal of Tarkhou, in the Eastern Caucasus, placed himself under the protection of the Russians in 1722; soon after, he made an attempt to shake off their tyrannical yoke, but he only witnessed the destruction of his capital, and was sent in exile to Lapland, where he died. An English traveller, who confounded the title with the name, speaks of "Aldiggherey, commonly called Chaffkal."* Another English traveller states that the family name of the Sousouhounam, or Sovereign of Java,† is Pangeran. Pangerang is a title which signifies prince; the Dutch company used to give it to persons who were strangers to the Sousouhounam, such, for instance, as the son of the King of Bantam.‡ In all our maps of Africa we find the name Monomotapa; the word, however, is not the name of the country to which we apply it, a country which, when called rightly,

* J. Bell, of Antermony—"Voyage from St. Petersburgh," etc. (French translation, 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1766), vol. iii., pp. 220-240. Recent Accounts of Travel (Nouvelles Annales des Voyages), vol. x., p. 179. The second name in Adil-*Gherai*, is the same that was borne by the kings of the Crimea; it was hereditary, and probably implied power or high rank.

† Raffles—History of Java, etc. (Biblioth. univ. littér.), vol. vii. p. 368.

‡ J. S. Stavorinus—Voyage to Batavia, etc. (French translation, 8vo, Paris, 1798), p. 172.

is Macaranga; Monomotapa is the title of the reigning prince.*

Distance of time and place are pleaded as excuses for such mistakes; let us therefore turn our attention to Europe and to the country in Europe where the restoration of literature first dawned. Many of the lords Della Scala, who ruled in Verona from 1259 to 1387, adopted the prænomen Cane (dog), or Mastino (mastiff), a choice which is not more remarkable than those of Wolf, Griffin, and Fox, which are so common in Denmark, in England, and in Germany. Two of them became sufficiently famous to earn the title of il gran' can.† Some historians, when they found that the same prænomen had been borne by three or four of these princes, began to speak of the Can or the Great Can of Verona, and so invented a title which transformed the ruling prince of an Italian city into a chief of a Tartar horde.

What is the derivation of the title dauphin?

We may now take a step farther, and ask, What is the derivation of the title "dauphin," which for some centuries was borne by the king's eldest son in France. "It is derived from a metaphorical allusion to the affection of the dolphin for the human race." Such is the answer given by

* Ph. Cluverii introduct. geograph., lib. vi., c. x. Pinkerton—Modern Geography, Abridged (French translation, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1811), vol. ii., p. 588. Analogy would lead us to form the same conjecture with respect to the word Monoemugi.

† See above, Section 9. The prænomen or surname Cane had been borne by several of the ancestors of Francis Dandolo, who, in 1311, effected a reconciliation between the Venetian Republic and Clement V.—(Foscarini—Della litteratura veneziana, Padova, folio, 1752, lib. iii., note 333). An anecdote, however, is told about this name, viz., that it was given to Dandolo as a title of honour, because he had patiently endured to be treated like a *dog* by the cardinals in order to succeed in his negotiations with the Pope.

Ottius, a writer of some note,* who published his works in 1671 in the neighbourhood of France. Our own historians, better informed, no doubt, than the learned writer of Zurich, tell us that Guy or Guigues, Count of Albon and Vienna, having had a dolphin engraved upon his seal and inserted in his arms, was surnamed Count Dauphin (Dolphin). Not only was the title transmitted to his descendants, but it was also used in the formation of his wife's and his son's† names. It entered into the composition of local official names,‡ and into the very name of the principality, which was in the end destined to confer a title on the eldest son of the King of France. When William V. had been driven from his earldom of Auvergne, he adopted the same emblem that was borne by the Count of Vienna; at the same time, he received and transmitted to his posterity the title of Dauphin of Auvergne, and the word Dauphiné was given, not to all his remaining possessions, it is true, but to a small district whose chief town was Vodable.

Supposed derivation of the title.

It is quite possible that the inhabitant of a city which was literally built on the sea may have owed his surname of Dolphin§ or Dauphin to his great feats in swimming. The

* Ottius, De nominibus, etc., under the word Infans. In the same article, Ottius derives the French word apanage (Anglicè, appanage), i. e., *an estate charged with the provision of bread, nourishment, or maintenance*, from the German abbannung, remotia a regno, exclusion from the throne, because younger sons who had appanages were excluded from the throne by the heir-presumptive.

† Dalphina, Delphinetus: Ducange, Gloss., verbis Dalphina et Delphinetus.

‡ Dalfinalis homo, Dauphin's vassal; Dalfinaliter, an adverb which expressed the mode in which land was granted on fief by the prince. (Carpentier, Glossarium Novum, etc., 4 vols. folio, Paris, 1766, under the word Dalfinalis.)

§ See above (Section 43) for the origin of the name Delfini in Venice

same surname was given in former times to the Tyrrhenians, and was supposed to contain an allusion to their great skill in navigation, and to the dominion which they exercised over the waters of the Mediterranean—waters which had become peculiarly their own. This would explain in a satisfactory manner the fabulous story that the Tyrrhenian pirates were transformed by Bacchus* into dolphins, just as, at the present day, we call an indefatigable old sailor a sea-wolf (loup-de-mer); but it is very improbable that two princes, separated from each other by long distances, shut in by mountains, far from the sea-coast and its sea-faring inhabitants, should have chosen as their emblem a fish which at that time was but little known; and further, that that emblem should, in both cases, have suggested the idea of one and the same surname, whose lastingness and influence have been such that it would be useless to make search for a parallel instance. It can be proved, by authentic documentary evidence,† that the Counts of Albon bore the title of Dauphin long before Guy VII. had adopted the corresponding emblem. This fact alone would afford fair ground for inferring that, when armorial bearings were introduced, the emblem was suggested by the title, and that the title had originally been taken for certain local reasons, which might have been the same in both of the Dauphiné districts. The Dauphiné of Auvergne is shut in and surrounded like an island by the river Allier and two of its tributaries. The manor of Albon, the most important fief

* De quibus (Tyrrhenis) fabulantur Græci quod in delphinos versi sint. Re enim verâ tunc Delphini ob piraticam simul et dominium maris dicebantur," etc. Myrsylii Lesbii liber apud Annium Viterb. See Appendix, Note A. For the piratical habits of the ancient Etruscans, see Cicero, De Rep., lib. ii., c. iv., and Servius in Æneid, lib. viii., v. 479.

† Ducange, Glossar. See the word Delphinus.

belonging to the Dauphiné of Vienne, is similarly shut in by two small rivers which flow into the Rhone on its left bank. Two districts whose physical peculiarities were so essentially the same, originally received the same name,* and from this name the owners of the soil derived the same titles, which titles subsequently gave rise to the same canting arms† on the banks of the Allier and the Rhone. The old national idiom, which is retained longer in mountainous than in level districts, *may* have furnished the name; the next question, therefore, is this—Is there in the idiom of the country a word which means a confined, enclosed, surrounded tract of land? On investigation we find that there is; such is the meaning of the Celtic word Dalfa,‡ from which Dalphin and Dauphin are said to be derived, and in the Latin charters we have Dalfinatus, Dalfinus, Dalfinaliter.§ However, it is only with some hesitation, and in fear of substituting one error for another, that I venture to offer the suggestion. It was never my intention to attempt any etymological discoveries, but merely to shew how careful we should be in our explanations of proper names, and of the titles current among the more

Suggestion of the author as to the true derivation.

* Mont-Dauphin, in the neighbourhood of Embrun, commands a similar position on the left bank of the Durance. Dauphin, Delphin, Boisdauphin, etc., are French family names. If they were at first the names of places they may have had a similar origin.

† The Counts of Forez had a dolphin in their arms. (S. B. J. Noël, "History of the Ancient and Modern Fisheries in the Seas and Rivers of the Two Continents," 4to, Paris, 1815, vol. i., p. 234.) It is easy to trace (among the mountains of the Forez district) several spots which are exactly similar to those which occur amid the mountains of Dauphiné and Auvergne.

‡ Richards, Welsh-English Dictionary. See the word Dalfa.

§ In the charters from 1140 to 1230 we read Dalfinus, and not Delfinus.

ancient nations, when we have so little certainty as to the true origin of our own.

Arte and *Arta*, in Armenian names.

It might at first be thought that the words Arte or Arta, which enter so frequently into the composition of the names of the old kings of the Medes and of Armenia,* should naturally be referred to the Zend word Herété,† or chief. Now Arta may mean, as it does in the Pehlví dialect, land or soil;‡ why, then, should not some of these names be mere manorial or regal titles? There is no reason, however, why the two words may not have been derived from the same root, which will, in the first place, have designated the soil, and subsequently its owner.

The word *Tan*, as used in names.

The word Tan means country, dwelling, possession; both Easterns§ and Romans have used this word in the composition of their names of countries.‖ The Romans more probably borrowed it from the Etruscans than from any Asiatic people, and in Etruria the word, while it identifies the possessor with the thing possessed, was also the title of the master or lord.

In Etruria.

Tana¶ an Etruscan prænomen, which occurs frequently in

* Arte, Artias, Artibarnes, Artunes (Diod. Sicul., lib. ii., c. xxii.), Artavasdes (Cicer., Epist. ad Attic., v. 20, 21), Artaxe, Artaxerxes, etc.

† Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 462.

‡ Zend-Avesta, vol. ii., p. 481.

§ Turkestan, Farsistan, Cabulistan, etc. Butan an abbreviation of Buddistan (Nouvelles annales des Voyages, vol. i., p. 13), country of Buddha, etc.

‖ Tingitania, Mauritania, Lusitania, Aquitania etc., Tania, a country, region or land. Thana in the Greek of the middle ages, Tana in Italian and low Latin (see Ducange, Glossar., under the word Tana, and Tanne in the Romance language of the Vaud country), signify (like the English den) a grotto, a cavern, a place which is the usual haunt of an animal; the French word tannière (a den or hole) belongs to the same scource.

¶ Thana, Thania—Passeri, De nominibus Etrusc. passim.

the inscriptions collected by Passeri, corresponded exactly with the prænomen Caia, the mistress of the house,* and Tanaquil is literally translated by Cœcilia, Caia Quilia.† The Etruscans used to worship a goddess who was supposed to be the same as Venus, under the name of Thana Lartia, the Lady Queen.‡ Tanagra, the daughter of Æolus, lived so long that she was only known by the name of Tanagra the old, and the same name was given to the town§ of Tanagra which had been founded by the husband of the daughter of Æolus. It is not a little singular that if we take the first word in its Etruscan meaning, it signifies the ancient-lady, and is therefore an instance of one of those names whose meaning lies at the foundation of some mythological fable.

In the Persian language Tan means strength or power, as well as place and possession. Ctesias, who from his long residence at the Persian court had contracted the habit of carefully describing titles, used to call the king of Assyria, who is commonly known by the name of Belus, Beli-Tanas.¶ Grounding my argument on the above remarks, I might go on to compare the title of Thane or Tane with the Persian word and the Etruscan prænomen. In the British Isles down to the time of the conquest, the word was used to designate the older barons, the lordly nobles, who walked immediately after

In Persia.

In England.

* "Where you are Caius I shall be Caia," were the words uttered by the bride to the bridegroom in the marriage ceremony; *i. e.*, "Where you are master, I shall be mistress." Plutarch, Quæst. roman. c. xxx.

† Plutarch, in the passage quoted above, Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. viii., c. xlviii. Valerius Maximus, De nominibus. Passeri (De nom. Etrusc. p. 226), translates Tana by the word Hera, mistress, and Tanaquil by Hera Aquilia.

‡ Larcher—Treatise on Venus (12mo, Paris, 1775), pp. 129, 130. Gori—Museum Etruscum, vol. i., p. 114.

§ Pausanias—Bœotic. c. xx.

¶ Ctesias—In Persicis. c. xxi.

the king, and sometimes the king himself.* It entered into the composition of a number of proper names, such for instance as Ethelstan, Heorstan, etc., and in that of Dunstan, "the lord of the mountain," a name which clearly originated the legend which relates how St. Dunstan sailed from Ireland on a mountain, which he used instead of a ship, and arrived in Britain, where he founded the monastery of the Mountain. In order to prove a still greater resemblance between these words, which seem to connect the Etruscans with the Caledonians, philologists might feel tempted to mention further, the word clan; in the Etruscan language it means descended from, according to Passeri;† in the Scotch and Irish dialects, it is used in the same sense, and is an expression which is constantly recurring in the son of Fingal's poems. I do not intend now to dwell upon the importance that might be attached to one or two similar words, in their bearing upon the antiquity and degree of intercommunication between different nations, and upon the mixture of idioms. It will be sufficient for our purpose that we have shewn how the word which expresses the thing possessed, becomes the name of the possessor; and how the land or place, generally speaking, designates the master of the place or the ruler of the land. It may seem strange; but even amongst ourselves, is not a bishop called by the name of his see? Does not the name of a village or town constitute the family name of the squire of the village or of the town, so that we feel no surprise when we hear Macbeth's self-accusations, as he reproaches himself

The word clan.

* Ducange, Glossar., under the words Thanistry, Thainus, Thanus, Tainland, etc. In Ossian's poems the word Thanic means "that which belongs to the Thanes."

† See above, Section 27.

by the titles of the lands of which he is thane, and exclaims, in the bitter anguish of his remorse,

> Glamis hath murdered sleep, and therefore Cawdor
> Shall sleep no more; Macbeth shall sleep no more.*

SECTION LXI.

TITLES, VIEWED AS REWARDS OF MERIT, LOSE THEIR VALUE WHEN THEY BECOME HEREDITARY, OR WHEN THEY ARE MULTIPLIED.

A title defined.

What is a title? In the early period of a sound system of civilization, it is an eminently significant surname, intended to be a reward for distinguished services and great exploits. It is a moral currency, the true wealth of a state, and its real value, like that of ordinary wealth, soon eludes the grasp of any one who would use it in an arbitrary manner.

Wherever titles are the expression of public esteem and gratitude, this moral currency is most valuable. Of old, "chief of the senate" was a glorious title in Rome; the censors used to award it to the citizen who was looked upon as the first amongst the first in the state. Another honourable title was that of "Imperator;" it was given to a general by the soldiers who had served under him, after any signal victory, and the voice of the people usually ratified the acclamations of the army. The title of Imperator was given up when the insignia of office were laid down; on the completion of the customary five years, the chief of the senate was re-elected by the censors; a limited tenure added to the value of the title.

When Octavius had made his way to the throne, he realized how necessary it was that he should reign under a

* Shakespeare. Macbeth, act ii. sc. 2.

The title "Chief of the Senate."

title which should be inoffensive to the partizans of the republic. That of "chief of the senate" seemed to be the limit of his ambition. He obtained it, and moreover kept it to the end of his life. Whom would they have dared to place before him in the senate? By that title, therefore, untainted as it was then by any reminiscences of tyranny or proscriptions, and not by the title of either dictator or king, did he establish the sovereign power.* His successor would naturally wish to follow his example, Tiberius was accordingly called chief of the senate,† after the ancient custom, and used to remind his subjects that he was only the chief or first amongst the citizens.

The title "chief of the senate" simply reminded them of the majesty of the law; it became necessary, in military affairs, to adopt a title which should remind them of the influence and power of the army. An obsequious senate had conferred the title of "Imperator" on Julius Cæsar for his own life, and had further given it by anticipation to the sons and grandsons who might be born of that usurper's family.‡

The title "Imperator."

An equally obsequious senate offered a similar decree to Octavius, but that cautious tyrant never claimed its enforcement. As chief magistrate, he was always proclaimed Imperator whenever a great victory was gained by his lieutenants, so that he was by no means anxious that the same law should secure the title to his children. Tiberius and

* Cuncta . . . nomine principis sub imperium accepit. (Tacit., Annal., lib. i. c. 1). Non regno . . . neque dictaturâ, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam (Id., Ibid. c. ix.)

† Princeps autem senatûs, ritu prisco, dicebatur; et ipse sæpe aiebat . . . se imperatorem militum, principem cæterorum (Dio. Cass. Xiphilin., in Tiber.)

‡ Sueton. in J. Cæsare, sec. 76. Dio Cass., lib. xliii. and lib. liii.

Drusus owed their titles to his generosity.* As to the other generals he depended upon their servile natures for their not daring to assume the titles without his permission, or even for their following the example of Agrippa, and, by constant refusals, forcing the troops to discontinue the practice of awarding them an honour, which for the future was to be reserved for the sovereign only. His expectations were not deceived, for in the eighth year of his successor's reign, the reform was successfully established. When Junius Blæsus had conquered Tacfarinas, he received the title of Imperator with the consent of Tiberius; he was the last general who had the honour conferred upon him.†

Despotism could only exist so long as the influence of the army was superior to that of the laws; the title of chief of the senate became obsolete, and that of Imperator became the characteristic title of the ruling power.

However, it lost none of the honorary character, which endeared it to the warlike ardour of the Romans. The right to bear the title having been granted to Augustus, was transmitted to his successors: the number of times that each had received the title of Imperator was registered on the medals and in the inscriptions. The spirit of flattery soon awarded it for such trifling services, that men began to be ashamed of the title. In the time of Appian‡ it was only given after a victory in which ten thousand of the enemy had fallen.

* Tacit., Annal., lib. i. c. iii.

† Id., Ibid., lib. iii. c. lxxiv.

‡ Appian—De bello civil., lib. ii. Some learned writers have inferred from this passage that since the reign of Adrian the custom of granting the title of Imperator to victorious generals had been revived; but how could history be silent on a restoration which was so contrary to the policy of an absolute government? The writer of a treatise which was inserted in the Magasin Encyclopédique (1815, vol. v., pp. 56-

When Rome had been rescued from the conspiracies of Catiline, free and inspired by Cato,* she unanimously hailed Cicero, through her citizens, as the father of his country. When Rome was torn asunder by civil commotions, the same title was given to Octavius and to his successors. And although in the lifetime of Claudius a system of adulation had made the title far too common and meaningless, it served nevertheless to add to the long list of the emperor's other titles.

What is the real value of titles?

Here a remark naturally suggests itself with regard to the real value of titles. Heirs of the most pompous distinctions in the Roman empire, the despots of Byzantium, those fathers of their country, the terror of their enemies, and the delight of their subjects, used proudly to adorn themselves with the title of Porphyrogenetus, born in purple, the son of an emperor; and by the very fact of that name they openly confessed the instability of the throne on which they were seated, a throne which was unsupported either by military force or by national predilections, and on which the son rarely succeeded his father; where dynasties were all crowded together in one confused mass, and the sovereigns were the mere puppets of a destiny fraught with an excitement at once worthy of such despots and of the people who could submit to their rule.

81), gives an account of an inscription which was discovered at Gréoulx, and which is in the following words, T. Vitrasii Pollionis . . . . imp. The writer thinks that Vitrasius received the title of Imperator in the time of Marcus Aurelius, but his arguments are more ingenious than convincing. It is impossible to come to any definite conclusion from this single inscription, one which may be variously interpreted, and which cannot be explained by any satisfactory historical allusion.

* Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit; Juvenal, Sat. viii. v. 244. Autore Catone, pater patriæ consalutatus est; Appian, De bello civili, lib. ii.

"Fathers of their country" there were who had been their country's scourge; "chiefs of the senate," who were ultimately degraded lower than the lowest of their subjects; "imperatores," who had not even been present at the defeats which their flatterers had falsely transformed into victories; when we see such popular and decidedly honourable titles alter in character as soon as the legislature interfered with them, and become blighted as it were and associated with the most hateful recollections, we shall not be surprised to find that private titles, which the legislature either created or authorized, soon began to degenerate. They should be the mark and the recompense of real merit. But what are those political baubles for which the man child will strive with every nerve, and by which he thinks himself ennobled, of which we hear in every country and in every period of history. Sometimes they are the luckily obtained appendages of birth, sometimes they are bought at the price of gold. Here they are the reward of adroit flattery, there of a cowardly desire to curry favour. The man who obtains them either by the sale of his daughter or his wife, to him that is in power, or by the betrayal of his friend's or his country's cause to the ruling despot, is a living insult even to the worthlessness of the man who thinks he has come into their possession honourably, when he has only purchased them with gold, and not with either blood, or treachery, or infamy. We will now turn away from the contemplation of a picture in which truth assumes the form of satire, and go on to examine the distribution of titles as it was intended to serve the body politic; we shall find, I think, that in this respect also, to make titles hereditary and to multiply them indefinitely is to frustrate the purpose for which they were given.

Degeneracy of titles, and its causes.

Titles for life objectionable, much more then hereditary titles.

In the first place, there are serious objections to any title which a man has a right to hold for the term of his natural life; such titles lull those two sentiments to sleep, which prompt men to great actions, viz., ambition and hope. So excellent a reward should be reserved for good service done, when it is far above any other recompense. However, a title for life has a certain limit; hereditary titles have none. Once established, they cannot be set aside any more than you can touch a piece of heritable property; they are held sacred not only by law but by public opinion. It is a sort of perpetual tax, which society levies upon itself without deriving the slightest advantage from it. When you give a father's title to his son, you virtually give him nothing. If he wake from the slumber of inactivity, into which the certainty of bearing an honourable name has lulled him, reckless of anything beyond mere existence, he will need other treasures to satisfy his ambition or his cupidity.

Pensions for life, and hereditary titles, are a proof that men care more for money than for honour.

We can understand that income and hereditary property should be transmitted in regular order of succession, but we cannot even imagine its possibility in the case of an honourable title.

In several of the Arab tribes, a woman who had given birth to ten male children received the title of Moonejebo (ennobled), and the title was proclaimed aloud in her tribe, in conjunction with her own name and that of her husband.* Imagine the case of such a name being naturally transmitted to her daughter, who having incurred the anger of heaven,

* Antar, a Bedouin Arabic romance, translated from the Arabic, London, 8vo, 1819. (Weekly Repertory, vol. iv., p. 69.)

might be visited with the affliction of barrenness, nothing could be more absurd. Is it less absurd that the title of honour, which is given as a reward to the intrepid warrior, the indefatigable merchant, or the upright magistrate, should be handed down as an heirloom to some worthless descendant, or it may be to a coward or a dishonest man?

And yet our old customs invariably lead us to such hereditary results. The titles which are commonly adopted at the present day, were attached, in olden times, to lordly manors or high offices of state, which were frequently violently seized and transformed into incommutable property. The independence of those manors, and the hereditary possession of the offices, exist no more, but the idea of property and of its hereditary character, is still intimately connected with the titles which have survived.

2dly, If a metal currency be suddenly increased in quantity, it is lowered in value, much more must this be the case in the currency of honour.

As titles increase in number, they decrease in value.

Asbied, chief of the horsemen, or more literally of the horses, was the highest title of nobility in ancient Armenia; at first it was only given to the commander-in-chief of the forces, but by degrees it became common to all the great officers of the crown.* In the same country, the title Osdan, which means "free" or "privileged," would not long have exclusively belonged to the various members of the royal family, had not their freedom or their privileges resulted from a general legal incapacity to take part in public affairs and in the government.† In Abyssinia the title Ozoro was

* Cirbied—On the Government and Religion of the Ancient Armenians. Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries of France, vol. ii., p. 282.

† Cirbied. See the passage quoted above, p. 274.

Effects of multiplying titles.

also the exclusive property of members of the royal family; it was sometimes granted to ladies of the highest rank, and now it is adopted by all females who have the slightest right to distinction of any kind.* The title of sheik is highly valued among the Arabs, and the Wahabites value it all the more because they have forbidden the use of the title Saïd in consequence of its having been instituted by Mahomet. It is now so commonly given in Cairo, that the Musselmans even address Christians by it.† In England, the title of Thane, which even kings have been proud to bear, only denoted a franklin‡, or owner of a freehold, at the time of the Norman conquest. The Don, in Spain, was first peculiar to the king, but it was afterwards granted, as a mark of individual favour, to the dukes and nobles, and, last of all, to the owners of enfeoffed lands; however, the title was not even transmitted to their children; it has now become so common and so worthless that the expression Señor-don must be used when a person of more than ordinary position is addressed.§ To the above we might add countless instances to prove the truth of a circumstance which may seem theoretically trifling, but which is seldom practically examined.

Anna Comnena eulogizes her father Alexis for having multiplied titles during the period of the Lower Empire, and for his having attached to each a characteristic feature. She is full of admiration for this artful mode of procuring the welfare of the state, by judiciously flattering the ambitious

* Salt's Second Voyage to Abyssinia, vol. ii., p. 166.

† Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, vol. viii., pp. 67, 68.

‡ A thane, or, as the Normans called him, a franklin. (Ivanhoe, vol. i., ch. 3.)

§ J. Cadahalso, Letters from Africa. Letter 79. (French translation, 8vo, Paris, 1808), pp. 248, 249.

with the attractiveness of titles and imaginary honours.* But *was* the welfare of the state better secured after the reign of Alexis? *was* there a more perfect obedience on the part of his subjects? *did* men vie more with each other in the performance of noble deeds? *were* conspiracies less frequent? History gives a decided negative to the question. Effects of multiplying titles.

Alexis and his successors multiplied titles, and made them more pompous in character in proportion to the decline and increasing weakness of the empire. The title Augustus (Σεβαστός), which seemed so precious in the eyes of Octavius, was sold to worthless strangers and to recently emancipated slaves. Cæsar, the First August (Πρωτοσέβαστος), Augustus the ruler (Σεβαστοκράτωρ), Augustus the pre-eminent over all (Πανυπερσέβαστος), were titles which were not even among the highest after those of the emperor, his sons and even his sons-in-law were called Δεσπόται,† lords absolute. What effect does such an accumulation of names produce in our days? Do they rescue those who bore them from their low condition? Do they in any way contribute to their distinction? On the contrary, the confusion which is caused in history by such a multiplication of names merely brings out their absurdity and worthlessness in stronger relief. In the course of time will not such instances of absurdity and worthlessness reach the very titles which, being profusely lavished, served to satisfy the pride of equally narrow-minded men? To put the question were useless; the vanity of the present is blind; how could it foresee the future?

Now jealous pride *is* foreseeing. The danger inherent in

* Ann. Comn. Hist., lib. iii., c. iii.

† For all these titles see the writers of the Byzantine History and the Curopalates, "De officialibus titulis palatii Constantinopolitani."

a multiplication of titles has rarely escaped the notice of the higher ranks among the nobles, I mean those who for a long period constituted the true sovereign power in Europe, both in the feudal monarchies and in the aristocratic republics.

No such titles were assumed in the Italian Republics.

The patricians* in Lucca allowed no such titles amongst themselves as marquis, count, or baron, which were so common in some of the rest of the Italian states. In a somewhat similar way the patricians of Venice assumed no titles. Here, however, we must except the title of knight, which entailed the right of wearing the golden stole. A noble used to wear it when he had received it from a sovereign at whose court he had resided as ambassador. The theory of the matter was this, that it was a compensation for the ribbon of the order of that sovereign, which he was not allowed either to solicit or to accept if offered. And, moreover, I see in it a concession made to the pride of foreign courts rather than to the vanity of the administrators of the republic.

Down to the time of the last century, Polish nobles only added titles to their names when they were travelling out of their own country. To have assumed the title of count would have been considered as a degradation† even among the most remotely allied members of the princely houses of Germany, or amongst the poorest of them. In Bohemia the barons were so jealous of their title, that when a duke from another country wished to be naturalized, he was obliged to

* Histoire Universelle, Histoire Moderne, vol. liii., p. 474.

† "M. de Schwerin . . . who had not been forgiven by the other members of the Schwerin family for having assumed the title of Count, being a prisoner of war in Vienna . . . Their opinion was, that their name alone was worth all the titles in the world." D. Thiébault—Recollections of a Twenty Years' Residence in Berlin, etc., vol. iii., p. 6.

give up his own title, and to adopt that of baron.* Only twenty years ago there were noble families in Catalonia who had always refused to bear titles.† Even in France, the older barons were not equally desirous of obtaining the honorary distinctions which were distributed by the sovereign at his pleasure. In many of their hearts the proud motto of the De Couci family was engraved— Baron.

Je ne suis roy, ny prince aussi,
Je suis le sire de Couci.

I am no king, nor yet a prince,
I am the head of Couci's house.

The name of Sirerie,‡ which was long retained by the owners of fiefs of the first order, proves their proud indifference with regard to any higher titles, which they might so easily have obtained. Sire.

A feeling of indisputable superiority was the reason why the eldest brother of the king of France bore the simple name of Monsieur. D'Epernon, one of the favourites of Henry III., relying on his own influence, and a king in his own sphere of Monsieur.

* The conspiracy of Wallenstein. Works of Sarasin, pp. 73, 74. "In the seventeenth century there was no title in Bohemia higher than that of baron, except the title of count, which was borne by very few of the nobles."

† Alexandre Laborde, Descriptive journey through Spain. (Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne. 5 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1809), vol. i., p. 135.

‡ Pasquier, Recherches de la France, book viii., chap. v. La Sirerie d'Aubigné-d'Anjou is mentioned as early as the year 1160; d'Aubigné, the brother of Madame de Maintenon, was the first, I think, in the family who assumed the title of count. La Sirerie de Pons en Saintonge is the family which retained its name the longest. The title *Damoiseau* de Commercy, which was peculiar to the lords of that town, was similarly derived. It was synonymous with Sir or Lord. An old chronicle tells us that St. Louis was *Damoisel* de Flandre, that is to say, sovereign lord. Pasquier, *ibid.*

authority, used to assume the title of Monsieur,* with the addition of His Highness, a title which custom associated with his name four years after his death, during the minority of Louis XIV.

A contempt for titles is only to be found amongst men who occupy a decidedly high social position; but as a rule, distinctions have been so anxiously courted, that modern Europe may rival the period of the Lower Empire in the number, if not in the grandeur of its titles; still they were not hereditary.

There were two principal reasons why they increased materially in number.

SECTION LXII.

TWO THINGS, IN EUROPE, ACCOUNT FOR THE MULTIPLICATION OF TITLES; THE INCREASE AND CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE SOVEREIGN; AND THE PRACTICE OF RECOGNIZING TITLES CONFERRED BY FOREIGN PRINCES.

In the first place, France had ceased to dismember her beautiful empire and to share it amongst the sons of a sovereign who might haply have spent his whole life in painful endeavours to bring her provinces into a state of union. One sole-ruling king had taken the place of the Saxon Heptarchy, and the sceptre which he wielded was soon destined to destroy that of the princes of Wales, and of the chieftains in the Irish provinces. In Spain, a sound system of policy was ever tending to diminish the number of her

* See Mézeray's History of France for the year 1581 (vol. iii., p. 237), and the Adventures of the Baron of Fœneste (2 vols. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1731), vol. i., pp. 17, 22, 23.

internal kingdoms, which, from their multiplicity, and (as a natural consequence) from their inevitable discords, had undermined the Mussulman dominion to its very foundations. Conquests and hereditary successions were everywhere diminishing the number of states, and increasing the extent of territory possessed. The power of princes was on the increase, and their pride determined that their honours should be proportionately greater. Kings gradually added to the importance of the titles by which they were to be addressed, until they reached the title of His Majesty, which, for a long time, belonged exclusively to the Emperor of Germany. The heads of smaller states sought to raise themselves by following in the same track of progression; the counts of Portugal became kings; the viscounts of Milan became dukes; the counts of Chablais and Susa took the titles of dukes of Savoy and princes of Piedmont. This ever-ascending scale led kings to give names very similar to their own, to their brothers and other relations. The first vassals of the crown, who claimed equal rank with the members of the royal family, were not behind-hand in joining in the onward movement; besides, they foresaw that such titles would enable them not only to distinguish themselves from less powerful or less illustrious nobles, but even from those haughty barons who, in order to shew that they possessed nothing but what they owed to their own position by birth or to their sword, persistently retained their simple appellation. In the vulgar mind, the latter would soon be deemed the inferior title. It may probably have been the policy of kings to side with the vanity of the nobles, and join in the attempt to lower that title, for they would naturally look with a jealous eye on all titles that were not granted by themselves. In the sixteenth century, it

Causes of the changes in sovereigns' titles.

His Majesty

was customary to address merchants by the title of sir (*sire*);* in the seventeenth century, in a comedy which was performed in the presence of Louis XIV., the title of baron, which was formerly given to the greatest among the nobles, was openly ridiculed;† and in the eighteenth, it had become inferior to the titles of marquis, count, and even viscount.‡ Such small revolutions as these in the kingdom of vanity, are not without interest to the philosopher; they are intimately connected with the history of civilization, because they increase and secure the stability of the sovereign's power. Thus encouraged by him, an earnest desire for the titles which he has to distribute, seemed gradually to infect all classes, and penetrated even into the very ranks of those who were least likely to need them.

Hereditary nobility defined.

Hereditary nobility was defined, by a certain noble,§ to be "the most terrible curse which the wrath of heaven could inflict upon a free state." Free or not free, there is not a state under monarchic rule where a feudal nobility is not the most dangerous enemy to the independence of the throne.‖

* Recherches sur la France, bk. viii., c. v.

† The comedy was entitled Le Baron de la Crasse. Sc. ii.

"Un baron, dit l'huissier, un baron! Place, place
A monsieur le baron! Que l'on s'ouvre de grâce!
On croyait à la cour les barons trépassés;
Mais pour la rareté du fait, dit-il, passez," etc.

Œuvres de Poisson Père, 2 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1748.

A baron, cries the chamberlain, a baron! Make room, make room
For the worshipful baron! Pray let the baron pass before you!
At court, we thought that all barons were deceased,
But for the rarity of the thing, he cries, pass on.

‡ Encyclopédie méthod. Heraldry; see the word Crown.

§ The Count d'Antraigues. Memoir on the States-General (8vo, 1789), p. 6.

‖ The charter has only restored hereditary nobility, in its honorary point of view, while it reserves the monarch's right to create nobles according to his own pleasure.

In order to protect the crown and the ruling dynasty from their constant attacks, a prince should be an object of awe to his nobles, as were Louis XI. and Cardinal Richelieu, if he dare not be the king of the people, as were Louis XII. and Louis le-gros. But untiring and indomitable energy are rarely to be met with, and rarer still is that wise policy which rests the independence of the throne upon its true foundation, the liberty of the people. A slower and a less certain method was generally preferred; to counterbalance the ambition of the hereditary nobles, patents of nobility were multiplied. No sooner had this been done than attempts were made to trace descents from sources which were beyond the memory of man, and to calculate the number of generations during which the family had been in existence; this caused a division among the nobles by which the power of the sovereign was the gainer, the two opposite parties being actuated, the one by a proud disdain, the other by a feeling of envious vanity. The Spanish nobles, and more especially those of Valencia,* divided themselves into Blue Bloods, Red Bloods, and Yellow Bloods; the first included all families that had been raised to greatness; the second included all such families as enjoyed the *ancient* titles of Aragon and Castille, or whose origin could be traced from very remote periods; and to the third all the nobles were consigned whose nobility was not more than two centuries old, and who bore the *modern* titles of Castille and Aragon. In France, the man of quality was one who had a title before the year 1400; the man of gentle blood (gentilhomme) reckoned at least four generations of nobility; the noble was considered to be of noble blood

Patents of nobility issued to counterbalance the influence of the hereditary nobles.

* Alexandre Laborde—Descriptive Travels in Spain, vol. i., p 229.

from the day when he received his patent of nobility; but in Brittany, where noble rank carried with it the individual right of entrance to the Provincial States, two generations separated the noble from the man who had been created a noble, and who meanwhile was called a man of creditable position (homme de condition avantageuse).

Impulse given to the desire for titular distinction.

The great number of these shades of distinction gave an impulse to the even otherwise most natural desire for titles; on the one hand, they would gradually efface the present lines of demarcation; on the other, they would tend to strengthen them. Deluged with petitions, and dazzled by the magic power which he was supposed to possess, a monarch would begin to bestow titles lavishly,* failing to realize that by that very lavishness he was weakening both his own power and that of the state more seriously than if under the influence of madness he had thrown millions of gold into the sea; without any return whatsoever he was exhausting a full-flowing source of rewards.

In the second place, the re-establishment of the Western Empire, and the truly European influence of Charlemagne, had so far brought men's minds into a state of subjection, that they were likely to remain so for a long period. The son of Pepin created princes, dukes, and counts; the Emperors of Germany, who claimed to be his successors, distributed the same titles, and although they could not, with the titles, confer principalities and high official posts, as the "great man" had done before them, yet the public opinion respecting

* "I shall soon have created so many dukes," said Cardinal Mazarin, "that a man will be ashamed of being one, and ashamed of not being one." Memoirs of Montglat, vol. iv., p. 153. Louis XIV., his Court and the Regent, vol. i., p. 97.

these titles had become so firmly rooted that considerable value was attached to the gift; so much was this the case, that even sovereigns who were perfectly independent of the head of the Germanic anarchy, did not refuse to acknowledge them. Somewhat later, the kings became less lavish of their gifts, but the Emperor of Germany's policy was to create a still greater number of princes and counts of the Holy Empire. The latter of these titles was sold openly; only fifty years ago it might have been purchased at the regulation price of 300 francs. In France it was held in very low estimation in the public charters, but in common life, where its origin was not subjected to very close analysis, the title sounded probably as well as another, though the latter had been thoroughly established by a possession of some twenty successive generations.

Counts of the Holy Empire.

In the eleventh century the Popes began to deem themselves the equals of the emperors, hence they too created titles, and they found people ready and willing to purchase them.

The Popes begin to confer titles, and the system spreads.

By degrees, all princes, even the most unimportant, when they saw kings surrounded by princes and dukes, determined to have marquises for their courtiers and counts for their subjects.

It gradually became customary to recognize titles that had been granted by foreign princes, as a matter of courtesy, and without distinction. Some, then, found it an easier process to give themselves a title. At first their impudence was an object of derision; but in the course of time circumstances concurred to favour their pride, and in point of fact, what was the difference between their self-given titles and a great many others? Merely the expense of the patent. So licentious a

Principle on which titles were wholly abolished.

use of titles, which simply turned their institution into an object of general ridicule, justified the resolution which was adopted by a great nation, viz., to abolish them wholly and for ever. At the same time, it became necessary to reform, or rather to remodel the system of recompenses; had not this been done, the fear was that the ambitious feelings and hopes, for which no new channel had been opened, would naturally, and from long habit, flow back into the old customary courses. However, hands that were weary with the work of demolition could not build again. The thunders of approaching political storms were heard rolling in the distance; public works were either abandoned or destroyed. When the storm had begun to clear away, a man whose career is ended, but whose history has not commenced, was found placed by his destiny in the most fortunate position possible for the reconstruction of the social edifice generally, and of the temple of a nation's gratitude in particular. And yet his eagle-eye, which ought never to have wandered from the brilliant regions of the future, was dazzled by that worst form of treachery, flattery, and then veiled over by the mists of the past. What could he have done for others, when he refused to secure his own advantage, viz., that of walking alone, with the humblest of titles, the first man in Europe, because allied with none.

SECTION LXIII.

TITLES MAY VARY IN VALUE, EVEN AMONG THE HEADS OF STATES —DANGERS OF SUCH VARIATION—THE DANGER INCREASES IF DEPENDENT CHIEFS ARE CALLED KINGS.

Examination of various titular distinctions.

Two centuries ago the word prince was everywhere used to mean an independent sovereign. Dukes,* marquises, and counts were such powerful vassals, that their dependence upon the throne was frequently far more imaginary than real. Such, happily, is no longer the idea which we connect with the revival in Europe of so many princes, dukes, counts, and marquises.

The *comes* of the Lower Empire and the *comes* of Charlemagne; the *graff* of the Teutonic races; the *earls* of the English; the *Palatine cuens*† of Burgundy—are all now included under the one common and insignificant title of count. No great inconvenience accrues from this, certainly; still, it is well to notice the confusion which exists in these names, in order that they may not affect the history of our social institutions.

Long and serious discussions have arisen among the publicists, from time to time, respecting the social position of the *leudes*, the *fidelcs*, and the *vassi*. We may at once discard the subject from our minds, observing simply that the value of all these titles had been subject to considerable variations. The

* It need hardly be mentioned that the title duke is derived from the Latin dux, a general. Consequently, in a translation of Cicero's De Officiis, published in 1542, we find mention made of Epaminondas, Duke of Thebes.

† The counts palatine of Burgundy used still to write their name in the above way in the charters of the earlier portion of the thirteenth century.

leudes and fideles were at first the intimate companions of the king, the first men at his court. Two capitularies or ordinances of Charlemagne* mention the vassi as honourable men, ministers appointed for the execution of the royal will. At a more recent period, the leudes or letti and the vassi were, socially, slaves. In like manner, the humiliating titles of serf and main-mortable were used to signify different degrees of serfdom. Even the noble vassals were sometimes called *servi*, and still worse, were sold or given away, like the serfs, by their suzerain masters.† Feudalism recognized no law but that of physical force and circumstances; if we forget this in our examination of the vocabulary of the period, we shall become entangled in a labyrinth, from which we shall find it difficult to extricate ourselves.

Meaning of the Latin word *nobilitas*.

The Latin word *nobilitas* was only used at first to signify individual merit, and had no reference to patrician hereditary rank. Tacitus‡ alludes to this in his account of the customs among the Germans; he is understood by some to mean that the Germans chose their kings on account of noble birth. Hence, it has been argued that royalty was hereditary amongst them. But if, as I believe is the case, Tacitus used the word nobilitas in its original acceptation, and because his language contained no other more appropriate word, the passage I have quoted proves exactly the contrary—"Among warriors, generals are chosen for their valour, kings for their *nobility*," *i.e.*, of mind and character.

* Caroli Magni et Ludovici pii, etc. . . Capitula, lib. ii., c. ix., c. xxiv. The vassi are named before the lay fideles.

† Perciot, De l'état des personnes (On the Social Position of Individuals), 2 vols. 4to, 1786, vol. ii., pp. 141-169, and 169-172.

‡ Reges ex *nobilitate*, duces ex virtute sumunt. Tacit., De mor. German., c. vii.

We come now to the title of king; and we may remark here, first, that although the means adopted by different nations to designate their sovereigns by one and the same name have been most numerous and varied in character, they are less various than the extent or degree of authority which from time to time has been attached to the name.

Does not sufficiently indicate the extent of power possessed by the bearer of the title.

What were the kings of Pentapolis who were defeated by Abraham? What were the kings who were put to the sword by Joshua, by thirties at a time, on the banks of the Jordan? Mere sheiks of Arab hordes. What were the kings of Israel and Judah when compared with David and Solomon, whose kingdom they only shared between them? What were the kings of Egypt, of Babylon, of Syria, those everlasting scourges of God's people? The want of a suitable expression in each case, compels us in history to use the same title of king, in our allusions to all those various princes. The kings of Sparta, who were the hereditary and yet subordinate chiefs of a severe republic; the kings of Macedonia and Epirus, monarchs who were far from possessing absolute authority, and sometimes had no power beyond that of commanding the army, bore titles which were in nothing inferior to those which the imperious successors of Alexander usurped when they divided his conquests amongst themselves. Even in our own days, what differences exist between a king of Spain, of Denmark, and of France, and a king of Sweden, of England, or of Poland.

As proof of this, a well-known case in history is cited.

Owing to the inevitable results and oscillations (as it were) of an advancing civilization; various degrees and kinds of power will be manifested in proportion to the number of centuries through which that power has passed. Every period of history has furnished evidence of this. We will take one

The Knights Templars, and the treatment they suffered.

instance from the times of Philippe-le-Bel. The trial of the Templars was an atrocious crime; no extenuating circumstances could ever be adduced to justify its horrors, if we attach to the title of king the idea of the power that was enjoyed by Louis XIV., or even by Francis I. Had it been determined to dissolve the order, the one would only have had to assert his will, the other to have added a few judicious concessions to his fatal concordat. In this case, however, the king was surrounded by a number of lordly vassals, who were ready in the midst of the general confusion to seize upon any opportunity of dethroning the third dynasty, as they had already dethroned the two first; engaged, moreover, as he was in a dangerous conflict with them, I ask, was the feudal chief of France in 1300 in the same position with respect to an order, who taking the form of an empire within an empire, were strong in their internal constitutions, full of glorious religious and military associations, and who, through almost miraculous ramifications, were intimately and powerfully connected with every part of France, and in point of fact with the whole of Europe? What was his position, I repeat, in the face of an order who were daily becoming more formidable and more ambitious, who stood next to the throne in rank, and who, if they failed some day in the attempt to raise themselves above the throne, could defend their cause by the immediate union of the temporal with the spiritual power? If the templars were to be openly impeached, the laws should have been brought to bear on them. But when reduced to seek the assistance of the laws, Philip, who had already come into collision with the supporters of a superstitious creed, in his disputes with Boniface VIII., would have met with opposition in the courts of justice, a cry of sacrilege would have been

raised by the people at large, and he would himself have been excommunicated by the clergy.

If these armed monks had ever forfeited the trust reposed in them in the management of finances; if they were accused of being movers of sedition, or were even proved to be avowed conspirators, they were only amenable to the Pope's jurisdiction. They were accordingly brought before the Pope, and handed over to the barbarous absurdities which have always characterized the acts of the legislature, when the sword of temporal justice is wielded by the hands of priests.

How further misconceptions may arise.

In the study of a foreign country's history misconceptions are even more to be feared than in the case I have first mentioned. If, for instance, the respective values of the sovereign's title in two different countries be compared, we shall find that in the one the monarch seems to be an usurper, in the other the people seem to be a herd of rebels. Who can say that he has never been involuntarily guilty of a similar error? This observation will suffice to account for and excuse the local mistakes (if we may so call them) which otherwise learned and truthful writers have made. The subject of an absolute monarch is well acquainted with the fundamental laws which, in a limited monarchy, regulate the prerogative of the crown, but very frequently he will unconsciously allow his better judgment to be overcome by his national habit of passive obedience.

Effects on the individual who bears the name of king.

Can the man who is invested with the sovereign title escape a more dangerous influence, viz., the ambition to become, not only in real power, but in apparent dignity, the equal of those with whom he shares that pompous title. The seductive influences of power, and the feeling of humiliation experienced in a state of supposed inferiority, are far

too great, and that which each of these feelings whispers secretly to the heart of every sovereign, flattery is but too ready to repeat and exaggerate. The revolution of Sweden in 1772, the obstinate endeavours of the Stuarts to reach absolute power, the readiness with which Anna Petrowna succeeded, after much perseverance, in regaining her state of autocracy, and a thousand other things, go to prove the greatness of the influence of a title on the man who bears it, and upon those who hold it in honour. A man is a king to his courtiers, and especially to himself, however and wherever he may be situated, and until he feels himself to be as much a king as any one who bears the same title, he will accuse his subjects of rebellion and the social order of injustice. A state would certainly gain one further guarantee for its internal peace, if it could fix upon some title which should be as truly national as its own laws, which should belong exclusively to its own chief, and which, lastly, should be different from all the other titles that are given, by other nations, to the chiefs by whom they are governed.

Dangers arise from so common a use of the title.

The influence of the sovereign title, and the feeling which identifies it with the individual, are fraught with still greater danger when a subordinate chief is addressed by the title of king. If these feelings do not fill him with ambitious cravings to become what he appears to be, and to shake off the unwelcome yoke of a suzerain lord, they will at any rate induce him to compensate himself for his inferiority by a harsher and more tyrannical treatment of those subject to him than the real head of a state would ever attempt.

A confusion of titles is equally prejudicial to clearness and accuracy in our historical records. How frequently have the acts of a Ban, or mere chief of a province, who received

the name of king, been attributed to a Krâle or Sclavonic king. In Abyssinia the title of Nagash or Najashi,* which was peculiar to the king, but which was nevertheless borne by some of the rulers of the provinces, has led historians into similar errors.

Confusion in history another danger.

According to Tébry† (an Arabian writer), Cyrus, the deliverer of the Hebrews, was not the founder of the Persian empire; though merely a satrap, sent into Babylonia by Artaxerxes Longimanus, he was looked upon as an independent monarch by the Jews, in whose eyes the regal pomposness of titles was confirmed by the extent of his power. This is an opinion, which, besides removing several historical and chronological difficulties, is in perfect conformity with what we know of the constitution of the old Persian empire. Sitting on the highest point of the feudal pyramid, the Great King distributed kingdoms and principalities amongst his sons and brethren, to be like so many properties held in fief. Next to these came the satraps, who, holding their office in the form of a life-interest, and not by inheritance, ruled over wide districts, and could count among their own vassals other inferior chiefs, who were also invested with the insignia and titles of royalty. At Samos Polycrates was an absolute monarch. In the eyes of the king of Persia he was only a vassal of the third or fourth class, who was executed like a common slave, without even the preliminary formalities of a trial.

The title King of kings.

It was not without reason, then, that the successors of Cyrus took the title of King of kings. But that title did not

* Bruce—Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. ii., pp. 385, 386.

† See D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale—under the word Bahaman; and E. Salverte, On Civilization, etc. Introduction. Note A. pp. 269-273.

By whom it was borne.

belong to them exclusively. At a later period,* Artaxias the Great, king of Armenia, assumed the title and transmitted it to his son Tigranes; the latter only abandoned it to secure the alliance of the king of the Parthians, who bore the same exalted title, and was jealous of its being borne by any other. The kings of Georgia were called kings of kings from the close of the eleventh century† to the day when the Mongols, under the command of Ghengis or Zinghis Khan, came sweeping down upon them like a torrent and left no trace behind him of their former political existence. The title of Khakhan, which writers of the eighth century in the west supposed to be the name of the chief of the Huns, the titles which designate the kings of Abyssinia,‡ the Persian monarch and the leader of the Ottomans, all signify the king of kings. Less powerful princes, even down to the Sultan of Imiretia,§ and to one of the savage chiefs of Florida,‖ have not been behind-hand in assuming similar titles. The same motive cause is at work in all; it is only a question of degrees, and that cause is a political organization which more or less resembles that of the old Persian empire. It may be observed throughout almost the whole of Asia; it regulated the government of Hindustan in the time of the Mongolian dynasty, and it has still left there traces of its existence which even English rule has failed to obliterate.

* Chahan de Cirbied—Recherches curieuses, etc., pp. 133 and 268.

† Asiatic Journal, vol. ii., p. 122.

‡ King of the Kings of Ethiopia: Negaca Nagast-Zaitjopja. Description of Abyssinia by Father Lobo, translated by Legrand. 4to, Paris, 1728, p. 253. Out of this title European travellers have manufactured that of Negus, or the Great Negus.

§ Chardin—Travels in Persia. (Paris, 1811, 10 vols., 8vo, vol. i., 333.)

‖ Noël—Historical Essay on Proper Names, p. 30.

If the government of a number of men be considered to be the *property* of those who govern, an organization is soon set on foot by which the absolute chief of a thousand men is, with nine other chiefs like himself, the slave of another absolute master, who in his turn is looked upon as the patrimony of some more elevated chief still, and so on by degrees until we arrive at the highest chief of all. The last named thinks that to his lot will fall the treasures of the kingdom, the homage of the multitude, and a life of enjoyment, without any of the cares and anxieties of government; of those who fawn around on the steps to the throne, each in his own sphere makes a similar calculation. Misled by the apparent simplicity of this graduated system of obedience, modern writers have characterized it as a splendid conception of the human mind. In opposition to such a view I would draw attention to the following facts:—In ancient history, to the internal weakness of all Asiatic monarchies, to the abject slavishness of the Persians, to the frequent acts of treachery among the Satraps, to the ease with which the younger Cyrus raised one half of the empire against his brother, and last of all to the rapid decline and sudden fall of that gigantically proportioned state: in more modern times, I would draw attention to the history of Servia, which for nine centuries is a mere catalogue of the open revolts of the Bans, who resorted to arms to secure their own independence or to dethrone the king; to the numerous attempts made by the Abyssinian governors to bring their sovereign into subjection to themselves; we might at the same time point to the harshness of their despotic rule in the administration of the provinces; and to come down to our own times, we might again draw attention to the rapidity with which a handful of Europeans have

Is the political organization of the old Persian Empire a good model to follow?

almost without warfare dismembered the huge Mongolian empire.

We have only now to exhibit the title of King of kings, which fortune has seldom respected, in its complete degradation by vanity itself: the title which seemed to surpass all others in dignity, altered in value, and was given by great monarchs as a reward to princes of secondary rank. Aschod III., King of Armenia, was so named by the Caliphs of Bagdad in return for signal victories, and the Greek Emperor John Zimisces did not refuse to address him by it, adding at the same time the title of "his beloved son," in a tone of fatherly superiority.

SECTION LXIV.

DISTINGUISHING TITLES OF SOVEREIGNS SUGGESTED BY AMBITION —NATIONAL CUSTOMS—HUMILITY — RELIGION — DIVINE TITLES USURPED BY SOVEREIGNS.

How the various degrees of titular distinction are regulated.

THE brilliancy of a chief's title is usually proportionate to the importance of the state of which he is the chief; the ruler of two hundred thousand, or of five hundred thousand subjects is usually a duke, or a prince, or a grand-duke; increase the number of the subjects, and the extent of his territories, he becomes a king, one degree higher still will be that of emperor. This regular system of progression does not belong exclusively to Europe, the pride of dominion has everywhere manifested the same needs. The negro chief of the district of Cayor takes the title of King Damel: the chief of the Joloffs, whose

supremacy the inhabitants of the Cayor provinces used to acknowledge, is called Bourb or emperor.*

But however well established the graduated progression may be, its intervals are everywhere too great. Independent kings and princes who were superior to others in strength and in wealth, must naturally have desired additionally distinctive titles, in order to avoid their being confounded with men whom they would have scorned to call their equals.

Wide range of the distinguishing title "Golden."

To the name of the Burman emperor, or to the designation of anything that belongs to him, you are obliged to prefix the word Schoe, which signifies golden. His ears, his nose, and the canoe in which he sails, are respectively described as the golden ears, the golden nose, the golden canoe.† The same title is given to their gods; Schoe Madon, the golden god, has a temple in Pegu; and Schoe Dagon, or the golden Dagon, has a temple near Rangoon.‡

The "Celestial Infant," who was the stock of the Manchow dynasty in China, added the same qualification§ to his proper name, and commanded that he should be addressed as the Golden Kioro. Although such instances of Oriental vanity may cause a smile amongst ourselves, the inhabitants of the west, we have not always been free from the same imputations. Even during the first century of our era, the names of Chrysostom and Chrysologus; *i. e.*, golden-mouthed and golden-worded, have indicated great eloquence. In the

* Gaspard Mollien—Voyage into the interior of Africa to the sources of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, 2 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1820, vol. i., p. 8.

† Michael Symes—Account of the English Embassy in the Kingdom of Ava and the Burmese Empire. French Translation. 3 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1800; vol. ii., p. 95. Biblioth. Univ. Litt., vol. ii., p. 256.

‡ Michael Symes. Ibid., vol. i., p. 339; vol. ii., p. 1.

§ Eulogy of Moukden, pp. 13, 14.

middle ages whatever occupied the first rank was called aureum* or golden. Otho III., and after him many of the popes and emperors, consecrated (as it were) the expression Roma aurea (golden Rome), by having it engraved upon their seals; it was used as a synonyme for Rome, the metropolis of the world. This apparent analogy of customs would furnish but poor grounds for arguing that there must have been early communications between the nations named. In order to hold the first rank, in order to receive the honours of divinity, gold needs neither diploma nor rules of etiquette; the universe is its temple, and the human race its priests.

"Lord of heaven and earth!"

"Lord of heaven and earth!" was the title which, not a hundred years ago, was assumed, not by the hereditary monarch of Hindustan, not by a conqueror whose armies had destroyed millions of men, but by the chief of a negro tribe on the coast of Guinea.† Was I not right, then, when at the commencement of my work I remarked that the pompous character of a title was sometimes in inverse ratio to the power it was used to denote?

"Man of the Fields."

As a contrast to so ambitious a title, and without leaving Africa, I will now go on to mention one which is as humble in character as it is remarkable and noble in its origin; that of Baady (peasant, or man of the fields), which is always added to the proper name of the king of Sennaar.‡ The name is derived from the fact, that the condition on which he occupies the throne is, that he should once in his life plough a field and sow the seed with his own hands. How can we account

* Encyclop. Méthod., Antiquités. See the word Aureus.

† Paul Erdman Tsert—Voyages in Guinea, p. 38.

‡ Bruce—Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. viii., pp. 418, 419.

for the existence of so remarkable a custom in the midst of a tribe of savages, and one which reminds us of the agricultural festival which the emperor of China celebrates in a similar manner? Did the Shillooks introduce it into the kingdom of Sennaar, with the religious system which they have since abandoned, when they came down from the upper banks of the Bahar-el-Abiad, and consequently, might it not be one of the last signs of an ancient civilization, of which the interior of Africa contains more relics than are generally believed to exist there?* Or again, had it been retained notwithstanding the Islam invasions and the mixture of Arab Jahaleans with the natives of the ancient Meroe?† Did their oppressors borrow the custom from these last, as they seem to have inherited from the priests of Meroe the custom of arrogating to themselves the same right that was assumed by the chief nobles; viz., that of commanding their king to cease to live when it suited their purpose that he should cease to reign.‡ In either case we must remember, first, that science and civilization, fertilizing as the waters of the Nile, have also followed that river's course. We at once involuntarily turn in thought to Egypt, and we look there for an institution which shall be analogous to the one in Sennaar, and I think we *can* find it there. At the ceremony which takes place when a king of Egypt is crowned, a yoke was placed upon the neck of the ox Apis, and the animal was led about in a public procession.§ The new king used to follow the ox,

A custom in the kingdom of Sennaar compared with a similar custom in Egypt.

* See, on this point, T. E. Bowditch's work, entitled, "An Essay on the Superstitions, Customs, and Arts, common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Ashantees;" 4to, Paris, 1821.

† Diod. Sic., lib. iii., c. 4.

‡ Bruce—Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. viii., pp. 400, 402.

§ Arati Phænomenon fragmenta, Germanico Cæsare interprete. Capri-

bearing the sceptre of Osiris, the shape of which was similar to the old Egyptian plough.* Ameilhon is of opinion that the king was supposed to be driving the sacred bull to the plough, and that by thus commencing a reign with a solemn act of respect for the art which supplies the human race with food, he gave his subjects an earnest of his being a worthy successor of Osiris, who had, according to their traditions, discovered the science of agriculture. Nothing can be more plausible than such a conjecture. It allows us to connect the custom which exists at the present time in the kingdom of Sennaar with the ancient and but little understood customs of Egypt; it confirms the explanation of the one, and enables us to attribute a great antiquity to the other. The Chinese agricultural festivals may some day be found to be connected with both.

The character of the individual not always consistent with his title.

It seems almost impossible that a monarch should adopt an inferior title to that of peasant. However, the kings of Persia entitle themselves servants of the Imaum Ali-Riza, friends of the threshold, and even dogs at the threshold of that Imaum. "That king of our religion" is, in their mind, the true sovereign of Persia; they are only his lieutenants.† We dare not assert that these monarchs always prove to be as profoundly humble as their titles would imply. The princes of Mingrelia, who are always called Dadyan, or "pre-eminently the chief"‡ of the just, have sometimes deviated from

cornus. See the Latin edition, edited in 1801, at Berlin, by M. Buhle, vol. ii., p. 71.

* Ameilhon—Explanation of the Rosetta Inscription (Paris, 4to, 1803, pp. 44, 45).

† Froehn, Nomophylacium Orientale Pototianum. Extracted by Sylvestre de Sacy. Magas. Encyclop. 1815, vol. ii., pp. 441, 442.

‡ Chardin—Voyage in Persia, vol. i., p. 332.

the paths of true justice. The Sheik of the Jahaleans, Koreishite Arabs, who have settled in the kingdom of Sennaar, has from time immemorial joined the title Wed-ageeb (son of uprightness) to his own proper name, and yet the people and their chief are "the most fanatic and the most dangerous robbers that a traveller can meet with."* Neither can we forget the unfavourable testimony of history respecting the moral and religious virtues of the Abasside caliphs, although most of them added to their titles a name which implied submission to God, trust in His goodness, and resignation to His will.†

Some of the titles borne by the Abasside princes were equivalent to our modern form Dei gratiâ, by the grace of God. By that title, however, they implied no claim to power by right divine, independently of the rights and choice of the people, but simply an acknowledgment of gratitude due to God for the past, and a trust in his support for the future. Such is still the meaning of the similar European form which was adopted in the thirteenth century; we find it used by men who could not for a moment attribute their elevation to a divine interference or to divine right in themselves, like that of a prelate elect but not consecrated, or like that of an abbot in a monastery.‡ History tells us that the Count of Armagnac, who was suspected of aspiring to the throne in right of his descent from Clovis, used, in his treaties of peace, to call himself Bernard, by the grace of God, Count of Armagnac.

Dei gratiâ.

* Voyage to the Sources of the Nile, vol. viii., pp. 394, 395.

† D' Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale—under the word Esma.

‡ Herbertus, Dei gratiâ, Bisuntinus electus, etc., in three charters, dated from 1164 to 1165, and copied by Perciot. On the Civil Position of Individuals, etc., vol. ii., pp. 272-274. "We Renaud, by the Grace of God abbot of St. Paul de Besançon, Huèdes abbot," etc., in a charter dated 1261. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Most Christian King, etc.

The kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and Austria, owe the titles which distinguish them to a religious idea. Most Christian,* Most Catholic, Most Faithful King, His Apostolic Majesty. The head of the Germanic confederation assumed a more ambitious title; like the old Roman empire, his empire was sacred and holy (sacro sanctum). The same epithets were naturally given to his majesty in the public records, and addressed to him by his courtiers. When the monarchs of the *Holy Empire in Grecce*† had been consecrated, they used to receive the name of Saint,‡ especially in the prayers which were said aloud for them in the ceremonies of the church.

If we only advance one step further in this pomp of titles, we come to the apotheosis of the Roman emperors. The only difference was that the title was not generally awarded until after their death. The names of the emperors of China and Japan undergo a similar change after their deaths; the same is the case with the Samanian emirs;§ consecration is still only posthumous.

Yet in the midst of all the wants, the weaknesses and miseries which remind man of the frailty of his condition, he aspires to divine honours even during his lifetime.

The title of Cami, which is added to their name by those who have received permission to use it from the pontiff-emperors of Japan, is equivalent to canonization by anticipa-

* Christina, before her abjuration, used to be called Most Christian Queen, Regina Christianissima. She is so called by Lansberg, Gustavi Magni Bellum Germanicum (18mo, Roterodami, 1652). Præfatio, p. 1.

† An expression used by several historians, amongst others by Matthew of Edessa (Magasin Encyclopéd., 1811), vol. v., pp. 17-33.

‡ Pachymer—Hist. imper. Michael. et Andronic. lib. vi., c. xxxi.

§ Sylvestre de Sacy—Magas. Encyclop., 1815, vol. ii., pp. 439, 440.

tion.* A divinity is perpetually being reincarnated in the person of each of the chiefs of Lamaism. Faunus and Picus, who were forced by Numa to reveal their secret of making thunderbolts,† were evidently nothing but the priests of gods whom they pretended to represent upon the earth. It is plain that such cases are the results of religious beliefs, not of the folly of pride. But to whom does an inscription‡ ascribe the title of the Eternal? To Diocletian, a prince whose wisdom and moderation have been made the subject of boasting. He was not blessed with the light of Christianity; Theodosius, Valentinian, Arcadius were. Your Eternity! is the title by which a superior magistrate used to address those princes in his official letters.§ We cannot therefore feel surprised when we hear of temples raised to Augustus during his lifetime, or of the title God which Martial lavishes on his Domitian; or of the extravagant pretensions of Commodus and Caligula.

Your Eternity!

When writing to Justinian, Khosru I. entitles himself "the divine, the giant of giants, the image of the gods.|| This seems almost a modest title when placed by the side of the eternity of Arcadius. Khosru II. is among the gods "a man of worth, and amongst men a most illustrious god."¶ And last of all, in one of the inscriptions at Persepolis,** the ambitious man, who, by some freak of fortune, was raised from the

The divine, the giant of giants.

* Voyage of Golovnin, etc., vol. i., p. 373.

† Ovid. Fast., lib. iii., v. 285-345. For Picus, See below, sec. 67.

‡ Gruter-Corp. Inscript., etc., p. 279. Inscrip. 4.

§ Symmachi Epistol., lib. i., ep. 7, 13, 20, etc. (Basileæ 1549, 12mo). An anecdote is told in the Life of Lucifer, Bishop of Cagliari, which proves that the Emperor Constantius was called Your Eternity by his courtiers; but that title was not inserted in any of the public acts.

|| Embassies of Menander, ch. ii.

¶ Theophylact. Simocatt.—Hist. Maurit., lib. iv., c. viii.

** Asiatic Journal, vol. ii., p. 83.

King of the Gods.

rank of a private individual to the throne of Persia, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, took the title of King of the Gods.

Historians have pointed out the vain pride of an Antiochus who was surnamed Θέος, God. All the Greek kings in Egypt were addressed by the same title. In the Rosetta inscription, and in the first inscription of Adule, the word god (Θέος) joined to the surnames Soter, Adelphus, Euergetes, and Philopator, are in reality Ptolemæus Soter, Ptolemæus Philadelphus, Ptolemæus Euergetes, and Ptolemæus Philopator. The words, it must be noticed, in the inscription are used in the plural form, and therefore are meant to imply their queens. Ptolemæus Epiphanes is called the god Epiphanes in the singular number; it is consequently inferred that he was probably unmarried. In another inscription, Ptolemy Philometor and his wife are the gods Philometors.

Could they really hope, by such excessive flattery, to make a nation blind to the character of their rulers, when that nation had daily opportunities of seeing that they were subject to all the caprices of fortune like other men, and often dragged down to a lower level than other men by their weaknesses, if not by their vices. Why not? A state of slavery and ignorance is ever ready to deify the ruling power. In this instance, the Greek kings cannot say that they followed the old example of the national kings, for there is no record in history of their having pretended to be emanations of the deity, or of their being gods upon earth during their lifetime.

"The child of the sun."

The Emperor of Peru used to be called "the child of the sun." The chiefs of the Natchez were suns themselves. To the present day, the Kamtchadales call the Emperor of Russia Lord-Sun. Living, as they do, in the most distant parts

of Asia, in those which lie in closest proximity to North America, these titles may possibly have originated amongst some of the tribes of that continent, whose customs have also been retained. There is no doubt that a number of Tartar hordes made their way into the country either intentionally, or when they were escaping from the barbarities perpetrated by European conquerors in blood-stained Mexico. But there is nothing to prove that they ever reached Peru; their religious civilization seems to have been derived either from China, or from Hindustan. The various instances, therefore, of a similar character, which we have compared with each other, illustrate the fact, that we may trace similar customs at immense intervening distances, not because the inhabitants of the places named have ever communicated with each other, but because man is everywhere the same. Political power has everywhere sought to establish itself upon a religious basis. On the wild shores of New Zealand, Europeans have found chiefs who assumed the names of gods, and who, when the sun's rays pierced through the clouds, used to bid a credulous and passively submissive population to worship the divine souls of their ancestors.

The Negro slaves of Brazil broke through their fetters, and far away from their oppressors, founded the Republic of Palmarez. They elected a chief, whom they called Zombi, powerful. Zambi, Zombi, or Zimbi, among the negroes is the name of their divinity, a powerful and formidable genius, who is the object of great religious dread. If the chief himself had chosen his own title, he was probably meditating a future change from an elective office to an absolute sovereignty.

After all these instances, it is not surprising to find a king

usurping the name of the principal deity of his country. Such an excess of presumption as this, of which Belus was guilty, was not sufficient to gain him admittance into the land of mythology, historical character as he was. The pride of man, the precautions which are dictated by ambitious fear, and the desire of establishing his own power, were never among the inventions of fable.

SECTION LXV.

NAMES OF DIVINITIES BORNE BY PRINCES AND PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS.

A sovereign is not to be deemed a mythical character *because* he bears the name of a divinity.

ANOTHER mode of explanation (and we cannot repeat too frequently that in the history of man the same effect may result from a multitude of different causes), another mode of explanation, I say, will forbid our coming to the conclusion that a sovereign's historical existence is untrue because his name was that of a deity. It was probably because the name implied splendour and power, that it was given to kings as well as to divinities. Hadad was the god-sun, worshipped at Heliopolis, in Syria. This significant name, which meant unique,* or rather sole and supreme ruler, was borne by all the kings of Damascus. Adrammelech (powerful king), the name of an Assyrian divinity, was also that of a prince, the son and assassin of Sennacherib.† The Hormisdas, or Kings of Persia, who are quoted by the Byzantine historians, were named Ormuzd, great king,‡ like the god they worshipped.

* Macrob., Saturnal, lib. i., c. 23. Adad, ejus nominis interpretatio significat *unus*.

† 2 Kings xix. 37.

‡ Zend-Avesta, vol. i., 2d part, p. 80, note 8; and vol. ii., p. 744, 2d column.

Why men might adopt the names of divinities as their own.

The same feeling which leads Christians to place themselves under the special protection of a saint, by the adoption of his name, may in other religious systems have similarly made men adopt the names of divinities. In the religion of the ancient Germans, Crodo represented deified nature; the princess who persuaded Clovis to embrace Christianity had received at her birth the name of daughter of Crodo (Crote-child). No doubt that this, as in many other instances, was a religious consecration, and one reason why we are the more inclined to believe it is this, viz., that these somewhat too ambitious titles are frequently followed by others which are indicative of the greatest humility; Balastartes, King of Tyre, whose name combines the two principal deities of Syria, had a son who was named Abdastarte, *i.e.*, the servant of Astarte.

But further, the names of divinities were not reserved only for kings, the rivals of the gods. Bahman is after Ormuzd, the first of the heavenly spirits who claims the worshipful homage of the followers of Zoroaster; his name, by which many of the eastern writers designate Artaxerxes Longimanus was borne by persons of very different positions in life. Manes, the reformer and not the founder of the Manichæan sect, was instructed by Buddha, and we find a Buddha in the catalogue of names anathematized in the form of abjuration, which must be taken by the Manichæans. The Hindus very often bear the names of divinities. In Rome, Eros, Hermes, Phœbus, and Phœbe, were names which were frequently given to slaves. Apollos, in Greece, was one of the fellow-labourers of St. Paul. "How many there are amongst us," says Lucian, "who are named Dionysius, Hephæstion, Posidonius, and Hermias: a Queen of Cyprus, the wife of Euagoras, was named Latona. The Egyptians make an almost extravagant

use of the names of their divinities; there is scarcely a man amongst them whose name is not derived from heaven."

Two different creeds may contribute to the composition of a name.

Creeds, like idioms, sometimes became mixed up in the composition of proper names. For example, we may mention the name Phæbammon, the friend of Synesius and Heraclammon, who was sentenced to death by Aurelian, to whom he had surrendered the town of Thyana, the just but only too rarely awarded recompense of traitors who betray their country to a foreign foe.

Even in the reign of Justinian, and when the old creed had disappeared never to return, we may still notice a Serapis, a general of infantry, and a Bacchus, who was Governor of Africa. The customary adoption of such names, which had been suggested by a feeling of piety, had been retained from long habit.

Anachronisms caused by such a system of nomenclature.

In modern history, such observations as these would only serve to satisfy a feeling of curiosity, but the same customs have prevailed in periods when there was but little writing, and when history was intrusted to traditional reminiscences of the past. In such times, if names of divinities were given to men, great must have been the confusion of dates and events; the honours of an apotheosis must have been awarded to many a person who never received it, and more than one really historical character must have been supposed to have existed during the mythical periods. Ariadne, the wife of Bacchus, was confounded with the too credulous Ariadne, who was abandoned by Theseus on the island of Naxos; Penelope, beloved by Mercury, and the mother of the god Pan, with the chaste wife of Ulysses; and Tethys, goddess of the sea, with Thetis, the daughter of Chiron, and wife of Peleus.

The name of Memnon, which reminds us of a brave warrior, worthy of being the adversary of Alexander, had become

illustrious three centuries earlier, under the walls of Troy, when a hero of the name conquered Antiochus, and was himself beaten by Achilles. The Greeks have confounded that Memnon with the son of Aurora, whose sound-emitting statue was so famous in Egypt. They relate how Hemera, the daughter of Hemera, was carried up to heaven at the setting of the sun, after she had shewn him the last tokens of affection at his grave. The artlessness of the allegory is such, that the Greeks should not have mistaken its meaning, especially as they had literally translated into their own language the name of the light of day (Hemera), sister of Memnon or the sun; the child of Aurora, the light of day, melts away into the twilight, and returns to heaven, there to meet her mother Hemera, the light of yesterday, who gave birth to this day's brilliancy. The name Memnon.

There are many fictions in mythology which admit of the same kind of explanation; and, like all others, it is a kind of explanation which is good so long as it is restrained within proper and judicious limits.

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

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